OF

The duetie of a faithfull and *Wise Magistrate, in preser-*

uing and deliuering of the common wealth from infection, in the time *of the Plague or Pestilence:* Two Bookes:

Written in Latine by Iohn Ewich, ordinary Phisition of the woorthie common *wealth of Breame, and newlie turned into* English by Iohn Stockwood Schoolemaister of Tunbridge.

A VVorke verie necessarie for our time and *countrie, where the Plague rageth so sore in many places presently, or which hereafter shalbe visited, which God forbid, if it be his wil.*

Psal. 41. Eccle. 7.

VVel is it with that man, who wisely handeleth the sicke: for at what time hee shall suffer any aduersity or trouble, the Lorde in like manner will helpe him againe.

Imprinted at London at the three Cranes in *the Vintree by* Thomas Dawson.
1583.

To the right Honourable

S. Iohn Blanke, Knight, L. Maior of the moſt renowmed Citie of London: and to *the Right Worſhipful M.* William Fleetwood Sergeant of the Law, and Recorder of the ſaide *Citie: and alſo to the right Worſhipfull, the* Sheriffes and Aldermen, with the whole ſtate of the ſame citie: Iohn Stockwood Schoolemaiſter of Tũbridge, wiſheth a moſt plentifull increaſe of the ſpirit of wiſedome, and al neceſſarie graces, for the gouernment of ſo great a people, as may be moſt to the glory of God, the profit of his Churche, and welfare of the common wealth.

AS mankinde naturallie euer ſince the fall of our firſt parentes Adam and Heuah (right honourable and Woorſhipfull) hath not ceaſed in it ſelfe, & forſaken of God his ſpirit, to growe from bad to worſe, & from euill to ſtart nought, or (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh verie properly) to walke in the counſell of the wicked, to ſtand in the way of ſinners, & (which is a thing moſt lamentable and feareful) to ſit in the ſeat of the ſcornful, that is, to clime thoſe ſtai-

ers, and ſcale that ladder, whoſe ſteppes beeing ſinne, and ſtaues iniquitie, cannot chooſe but faile them cóming once to the toppe, and to caſt them downe to that horrible downefall of perpetuall ruine and euerlaſting condemnation: ſo GOD a moſt iuſt iudge, and yet with all a moſte gentle and louing Father to ſuch as are his, hath vſed and tried from time to time all manner of meanes and wayes, to bring the ſame out of thraldome to llbertye, out of priſon to enlargement, out of miſerie to ioy, out of paine to pleaſure, out of ignorãce to trueth, out of darknes to light, out of wretchedneſſe to happyneſſe, and out of hell to Heauen. Hee hath prooued and aſſayed all kinde of remedies, wearying as it were himſelfe for our amendement, and hath nothinge at all in a manner preuayled: hee hath myldely intreated vs in the dealing of a Father, hee hath ſeuerelye handeled vs in the perſon of a iudge. The heauens haue burnte aboue vs in ſtraunge manner with fires, newe Starres, Comets and vnwonted lightes: the earth beneath vs hath trembled and quaked at the iudgementes of GOD,

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as not able any longer to beare the burden of our ſinnes, yet man hath nothing at all beene moued. Hee hath plentifully ſent foorth his woorde; and great haue beene the number of his Preachers: but his people haue ſtopped their eares like the deafe Adder, and will not heare the voyce of the Charmer, charme he neuer ſo wiſelie. Hee hath pyped vnto vs, and wee haue not daunced: hee hath mourned vnto vs, and we haue not lamented. *Mat. 11, 17.*

Hee hath bleſſed vs in the Citie, and bleſſed vs in the field: he hath bleſſed the fruite of our bodie, and the fruite of our grounde, the fruite of our cattel, the increaſe of our kine, and the flockes of our ſheepe. He hath bleſſed our basket, and our dough: he hath bleſſed vs comming in, and bleſſed vs going out. Hee hath cauſed our enemies that haue riſen againſt vs, to fall before vs, they haue come out againſt vs one waye, and haue fledde before vs ſeuen wayes, in ſo much that all the nations of the earth ſee this, and woonder at the ſame: yet cannot all this make our Realme of England thankfull. What then remaineth, but that, if wee goe on ſtill wallowing *Deut. 28.*

in our ſinnes, adding contempt vnto vnthākfulnes, as drunkénes vnto thirſt, the Lord will turne al theſe his former bleſſings, vnto new & vnwonted curſes: curſing vs in the town, and curſing vs in the field, curſing our baſket, & curſing our ſtore, curſing the fruite of our body, and the fruite of our land, the increaſe of our kine, and the flockes of our ſheepe, curſing our comming in, & curſing our going out, ſending vpó vs trouble & ſhame, in al that we put our hande vnto, making the heauen ouer our head, braſſe; and the earth that is vnder our feete, yró; ſmiting vs with a conſumption, with the feuer, & with a burning ague, and with feruent heate, making the peſtilence to cleaue vnto vs vntil hee hath conſumed vs from the land, which we poſſeſſe and dwell in. For we are not ſo wittie and cunning in committing daily and hourely new ſins, but the Lord is as expert & ſkilfull in ordeining new plagues to correct and chaſtiſe the ſame withall. We ſee how amongeſt other his ſcourges, ſent no doubt for the amendement of his choſen, and for the warning of the reprobate, that theſe are but fleabitings vnto the torméts that

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are reſerued for thé in the life to come, how the plague & peſtiléce now furiouſly rageth almoſt in euery corner of this lãd, a ſicknes that euery man ſo greatly trembleth at,& no man feareth to deſerue the ſame: a diſeaſe ſo vſuall,eſpecially in your moſt honourable citie of London, that albeit it were ſomwhat feared at the firſt, yet vſe hath now at length made it vnto many ſo familiar, that there is litle more regard had of it then of any other cõmon & light malady. A great number,& amõg the ſame,ſome alſo of no ſmal account(at leaſtwiſe in their owne iudgement) contrary to reaſon,philoſophy, phiſick,diuinity,yea experience it ſelfe,abſurdlie and fondly both by word & exãple, mainteyning ỳ ſame not to bee infectious,or that it may be takẽ one of an other, which maketh thẽ ſo vndiſcreetely, & vnaduiſedly, nay ſo vnchriſtianly & raſhly,where there is no need,without any feare of thẽſelues, or regard of others,to reſort & keepe cõpany with ſuche as are infected, vnder a pretence of chriſtian charity,but indeed of a blind zeale without knowledge: yea and many times to win the commendation & glory of not fearing,or rather con-

temning death, this way procuring vntimely death (I ſpeake not of the vnchāble determination of God, but as maye bee geſſed by the ordinarie courſe of nature) both vnto them ſelues and alſo manie others, to the diſpleaſure of God, and the loſſe of the common wealth: not that I thinke it vnlawful for one Chriſtian in this kynde of ſickneſſe to viſite an other (whereunto Godlineſſe, religion, and Chriſtian duetie doth binde) but that I would haue al needeleſſe reſort reſtrayned, being, although not the only, yet in my iudgemēt, the chiefeſt cauſe of the ſpreading and ſcattering abroade of the ſame. But hereof (I meane whether the Plague be infectious or no, and whether, and how farre it maye of a Chriſtian bee ſhunned and auoyded) there is a verye notable and profitable Treatiſe, written by that famous and Godlye Diuine Theodore Beza, in Latine, and not manie yeeres ſithens by mee turned into Engliſh for the benefit of my countrie men, whither for ſhortneſſe ſake I ſende the Reader that is not alreadye ſatisfied. As for you (right Honourable & Worſhipfull, whom in the Lord with all humi-

humilitie I reuerence, and on whose shoulders lyeth the heauie charge of gouerning this noble citie) I am fully resolued, that you are otherwise perswaded, thinking the Plague not onelie to be infectious, but that it is also your partes and ducties so farre as in you lyeth, and by the wisedome and pollicie of manne, not contrary vnto the word of God, may be attayned vnto, to labour to stop, preuent and hinder the contagion of the same. To the furtherance & forwarding of whiche your Godlye purpose, I haue taken paynes to Englishe this very excellent and singuler Treatise, the Father of it being a Dutch man, the childe a Roman, not by countrie, but by education: the which being committed vnto my tuition, I haue taught in foureteene daies space to speake this mother tongue of ours in suche rude and homelie manner as you see; hoping that the plainnesse and simplenes of his speech may be pardoned and borne with in regarde of his shorte time that hee had to learne, not that he would winne praise for his quick capacitie, but seing the occasion of God his so general visitation, he thought, that

if hee might bee hearde ſpeake before your H.& W.he might happily ſay ſome thing that might turne to the common benefite, hauing meant ere this time to haue preſẽted himſelf vnto you vnder his maiſters ſimple dedication, ſauing that I know not howe it falleth out of a prepoſterous & ouerthwart courſe , that good things can hardly paſſe the preſſe,whẽ as vnprofitable and hurtefull Pamphlets haue very quick and to too ſpeedye paſſage. Whatſoeuer good and holeſome counſell he ſhall giue,he truſteth ſhall at your hands not onely be friendly accepted,but diligently folowed,& put in practiſe, as occaſion and opportunity ſhalbe offered,crauing pardon for his wants, & imperfections , nothing doubting but they ſhalbe ſupplied, either by your own graue wiſedomes, or els by the learned aduiſe of Godlie and ſkilfull Phiſitions. It is enough for him to haue broken the yſe , and to haue ſhewed the waye for others, miniſtring matter of further deliberation, what manner courſe ought to be taken for the taming and maiſtering of this ſo fierce and cruell a Dragon , (for ſo I reade this ſickenes of the plague

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by ſome verye ſinguler Phiſitions to bee termed) before he be ſuffered to approch too farre within your borders. Wee ſee what preparation is vſed of euery man to withſtand his owne priuate enemy: what care euery good huſbād hath for the fortifiyng of his houſe againſt the lawles attēpts & brekings in of theeues: what pub like diligence is ſhewed, & ſtrōg munition had alwayes in a readines to keep out the power of the forraine ſouldier: howe much more then ſtandeth it you vpon, & all other godly and faithfull magiſtrates, to imploy al your endeuours, to communicate and impart all your counſelles, to bend all your deuiſes, to ſtop in time the daungerous aſſaults of this bloody Lion, ẏ rāgeth ſo fiercely in moſt places of this realme at this time? If delay in all perils be dangerous, it cānot chooſe but in this diſeaſe, whiche like a ſwift deuouring fire conſumeth all thinges before it as it goeth, but be very perillous and hurtfull. Meete with therfore the beginning, leaſt remedie come too late: when the diſeaſe by tract of time is growē to ſuch ſtrēgth, that it can very hardlie, and not without much trouble be cured. A little bracke

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in a Wall made to keepe out water, taken at the firſt, may quickely be ſtopped, which being ſuffered but for a ſmal time to haue his courſe, maketh ſuch a breach as often turneth to the drowning of an whole Countrie. The fire that is eſpyed when it firſt taketh hold in the thatch or tymber of ſome houſe in a Towne, may eaſily at the beginning with a little helpe bee quenched, whiche catching ſtrength by ſpreading, cauſeth ſomtimes the pitifull deſolation and vtter burning to grounde of all the houſes and buildinges in the ſame. After like manner it fareth with this vnrulye ſtreame of the Plague, and vnmercifull flame of the Peſtilence, if you geue it leaue by ſpreading and ſcatteriug abroade, once to gather force and power, it many times maketh riddãce of whole townes, & cleane ſweepeth away huge and mighty Cities, whereas beeyng wiſelye looked vnto at the firſte, after ſuche order as in this ſhorte Treatiſe is preſcribed, it often paſſeth awaye without anye greate hurte or harme dooynge. You haue heeretofore felt of the inconueniẽce that hath growen by delaies in this kind of calamity. Let ther-

therefore your former harmes make you beware againſt time to come, in recõpẽſing the former ſlacknes, with new & ſpeedy diligence. And aboue al thinges haue eſpeciall regard to make ſharpe lawes for the puniſhmẽt of ſuch as needleſly reſort to thoſe that are infected, and for ſuch as hauing been taken with the ſicknes preſume to come abroade, and to thruſt thẽ ſelues into the cõpany of others, before they bee throughly cured. For theſe two waies this diſeaſe may wõderfully bee increaſed, whereof in this ſmall diſcourſe you ſhal reade very ſtrange and wonderful examples. I knowe there be that reaſon, that the dayes of man are numbred: that the time is ſet & the houre limited, in which we ſhall all die, and hereof inferre, that albeit we neuer ſo much, nor ſo often haunt the companie of the infected, yet it ſkilleth not, wee ſhall not die before our time, &c. But this Diuelles argument (ſo I call it, becauſe the Diuell vſeth the verye like reaſon in the tentation of our Sauiour Chriſte) ſhall finde no countenance before your H. and W. as I truſt. For it is a verie badde kind of reaſon from the etetnall and ſecrete de- *Mat. 4. 6.*

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cree of God knowen onelie vnto himſelfe, to goe about to take away all ordinarie meane to be vſed by man. True it is, that no man ſhall die before the time which God hath appoynted, which time becauſe it is vnto vs moſt vncertaine, we are to vſe the lawful meanes whiche God hath ordained for vs to ſuſtaine our life withal. Otherwiſe, if all ordinary meanes be to be refuſed, let vs eate no meate, for wee ſhall not dye before God hath appoynted: let vs wilfully deſtroye our ſelues: for wee ſhall not dye before GOD hath appoynted: yea let the robbers and murtherers by the high way ſide that lay violent handes to take away the life of man, eſcape vnpuniſhed, becauſe they haue not killed any man before his time by God appointed. Which reaſons look howe vayne, fooliſhe, wicked, and vngodlye they are: euen ſo vayne, fooliſhe, wicked, and vngodlie is this; I ſhall not dye before the houre appoynted by God, therfore I will without all regard eyther of my ſelfe or others, when there is no cauſe or need, goe vnto ſuch as are infected, to the hazarding not onely of myne owne life, but alſo the life of manye o-

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thers. Chriſt when as the Diuell (the Father of ſuch kind of arguments) alleaged the charge of God giuē to his Angels ouer him to keepe him from hurt, to perſwade him to caſt him ſelfe downe headlong frō the pinacle of the temple, whereas he might vſe the ordinarie meanes of going down by the ſtayers, told him that ſo to do, was indeede to tempt God. The Heathen mariners, in whoſe ſhip Ionas was, at the ſtraunge riſing of the tempeſt, threw all their goodes into the ſea, for the ſauegard of the ſhippe, and ſauing of their owne liues, which they needed not to haue done, if they had bin of the ſame opinio̅ with theſe odde felowes, but thus to haue determined the matter: we ſhall not die before our time, we wil therfore vſe no meanes at all to ſaue our ſelues, but let God work. I am aſhamed to ſtād ſo long herein, but that I know that this fond reaſon carrieth away greate multitudes, not only into the inconueniences aforeſaid, but alſo to the vtter contempt and deſpiſing of the moſt commendable art of phiſicke, as a thing vnprofitable and needeleſſe, the whiche GOD notwithſtanding hath giuen for the ſinguler *Ionah. 1.5.*

lar helpe, profite and comforte of mankinde, which queſtion is by occaſion hãdeled at large in this ſelfeſame Treatiſe, the which I haue preſumed to offer vnto the gentle acceptation of your H. & W. as the meeteſt Patrones for ſuche a woorke, who, as you haue the charge of gouernement of this moſte woorthye Citie, ſo I perſwade my ſelfe, that you will verye carefully ſeeke in all reſpectes the welfare of the ſame, and ſo farre foorth allowe of the good aduice of this Authour, as you by your wiſedomes ſhal iudge to bee moſte meete and expedient. The principall and chiefe courſe is, to begin at true and heartie repentance, (which is the firſt thing that the maker hereof Perſwadeth in ſuch a caſe) bewailing euery man his former wicked life, with prayer and faſting, renting your heartes, and not your garmentes, and commending moſte humblye your afflicted eſtate vnto the mercifull conſideration of our heauenlie Father: and then to vſe all other lawefull remedyes that may be thought neceſſary for the auoyding of infection in ſo daungerous a diſeaſe.

To

To which end I commend & commit this litle booke to your through insight and neere consideration, to be followed where it is profitable, to bee supplyed, where it wanteth, to be corrected, where it is faultie, and to bee refused, in what point soeuer it shall vnto your wisdomes seeme not profitable, or conuenient for your state and gouernment. The Lord blesse your H. and W. with the true feare of hi sname, and a carefull desire as well of the health of the soules, as the welfare of the bodies of the people, committed to your rule & direction. From Tunbridge the 19. of May. 1583.

Your H. and W. most humble in *Christe*, Iohn Stockwood, *Schole-master of Tunbridge.*

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A short

A ſhort admonition vnto the gentle and courteous Chriſtian Reader.

THis ſmall treatiſe (right gentle and courteous Reader) comming vnto my handes at ſuche time as God beganne afreſh to viſite the Citie, and many other places of the land with the fearefull and dangerous ſicknes of the Plague: after the diligent peruſing & viewing of the ſame, thinking it as well in reſpect of the matter, as in regarde of the preſent time and occaſion, a profitable diſcourſe for ſuche my godly countrie men as vnderſtood not the Latin tongue: according as my leaſure beſt ſerued from my ſchole charge, I haue occupied my ſelfe in turning the ſame into our Engliſhe and mother language, whiche being communicated with diuers of my godly, worſhipfull, and learned friendes, both Diuines, Gentlemen, and Phiſitions, they haue thought it a work very well worthie the publiſhing and ſetting abroade, to the benefite and profite of all ſuch places, as it ſhoulde ſeeme good vnto God to puniſhe with this kinde of viſitation. I haue therfore conſented to let it paſſe the preſſe, and come vnder thy godly viewe, and diligent examination, giuing thee before to vnderſtande, that in ſome places & names of fiſhes whiche thou ſhalte meete withall in this diſcourſe, I haue reteined ſtill the Latin name without any Engliſhing of the ſame at al. This thyng I haue choſen to doe purpoſedly, that thou mighteſt

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resort vnto some learned Phisition, heerein to vse his skilfull aduice, rather then by my gessing at all aduentures at the Englishing of the same (which I coulde neither learne out of any Authour, nor come to vnderstand by conference with others, albeit very godly and learned Phisitions) to bring thee into an errour, hauing more regarde vnto thy right instruction heerein, then vnto mine owne estimation, iudging it better in this behalfe to bee counted ignorant, then by bold aduenturing, like blind bayard, to bee worthily deemed foole hardie.

Thy louing brother in Christe,
Iohn Stockwood.

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The Preface of the Authour vnto the Reader, of the causes of *the pestilence.*

Alex. Trallian. li. pri. cap. 1

IT is a receiued opinion among Phisitions, that the first part of all healing & curing, must bee called backe vnto the knowledge of the causes, and iudgementes. Whereas therfore the learned do often dispute of the cause of this so horrible a sickneſſe, the which we cal the Pestilence, and the publike curing wherof we are to set down: it seemed vn to me to be worthie the trauaile, in few words to declare this matter, þ so much the more easily and diligently euery man might doe his dutie, in taming or assawging this dragon, as Galen rightly tearmeth him. For not without good cause it seemeth vnto some a thing worthie to be marueiled at, that so many oftētimes doe die in one house, into which this infection once getteth: and that such as betimes flie thēce many times remaine vnhurt. Which thing they which suppose to come to passe by vnauoidable destinie, or affliction immediately sent frō god, speake in my iudgement, indistinctly and vnorderly,

Euery plague commeth not immediatly from God.

derly. For ſuch a plague is wont to happen not by common tokens, yea and very ſeldome, and that myraculouſly. And I nothing doubt that God doth winke at many things, and doth not at all times defend vs, which thing notwithſtanding hee is able for to doe: or to ſpeake more properly, that he doth oftentimes vſe the Diuel, yea, men alſo, and which more is, our ſelues, to trye our ſelues withall: ſo farre of is it that I woulde by any meanes denie it. Moreouer this likewiſe is a rare thing, & ſuch as many old men haue not ſeen in all their life, that a plague ſhould growe of the infection of the common ayre. For in this caſe it muſt needes bee that many & manifeſt ſignes goe before. Wherefore wee ſee the Aſtrologers many times to be fouly deceiued for want of due conſideration of cauſes. For how can they alwayes without errour obſerue and marke ſo hidden natures of ſo many things, and ſo diuers coniunctions and diſiunctions of all the ſtarrs? Therefore foraſmuch as it is not lawfull, neyther altogether to ſhut out God, nor raſhly to make him the Authour of our errour and ouerſight, according vnto the iudgement of the moſt learned and graue men, both Philoſophers and Phiſitions, and alſo Diuines: this may well bee affirmed, that euerie peſtilence in deede, like as other diſeaſes

ſes euen in the iudgement of *Hypocrates*) and all aduerſities are of God, but yet notwithſtanding haue not all one nature: for there is one kinde of plague which may be ſaid to come only from God: and another naturall: the thirde, receiued by infection. The plague from God, when as it riſeth either immediatly from God, or by the ordinance of God (as *Alexand. Bened* termeth it) and by no ouerſight of nature, by no placing of the ſtars, or through the threatening of no Eccliſe, nor through the defaulte and raſh headdines of men, that is, when as it is ſent by the meere pleaſure and wrath of God, being angrie with men for their ſinnes. And this is a moſt heauie caſe, and growing ſodenly, rageth verie hotly againſt thoſe (for we do not affirme the chaſtizing of the Lorde to bee like a bickering in the dark) who are not marked: the which we cannot auoid either by flying or medicines, or ought to ſeeke to auoid, but the way is only by ſupplication, prayer, and purgings. It is alſo oftentimes to be perceiued by plaine and feareful tokens from God, or by the voyce of God himſelfe, or his Prophete.

3. ſortes of plagues.

1. From god.

2. The naturall plague.

The naturall peſtilence is that, which commeth of cauſes by meanes, and ſuch as conſiſt in nature. This by ſome is thought to bee of three ſortes, either by meanes of the ayre, or of the water,

water, or of the earth: of others twofold (which commeth in a maner all vnto one point) namely common and priuate: of the which the one is not properly called a common diſeaſe, albeit manie times it bee the cauſe of a common diſeaſe, that is of a common plague. Nowe concerning that plague which happeneth by reaſon of the ayre, or of the water, or of the earth, they ſay that it hath not God either the next, or the proper cauſe, although it haue him as her Lord, to whom it is forced to obey, & at whoſe becke it is ruled. Yet this plague many times doth ſo furiouſly rage, that it waſteth away moſt famous cities, moſt mightie prouinces and countries (from whence it ſeemeth to haue the name *Epidemia*, that is ſuch a ſicknes as haunteth a whole countrie or people) deſtroyeth whole kingdomes, vterlye taketh awaye the former plight and countenance of a place, blinde for the moſt part (I ſpeake after the maner of men) vncertaine, vnconſtant, rouing all aboutes, vntreateable, raging without any law, taking away whomſoeuer it meeteth: without any regarde eyther of nobilitie or common ſort, infecting all things ſometimes far & wyde frō the Eaſt vnto the Weſt, yea rāging vnto beaſts, vnto trees, vnto the fruits of trees, & of ꝑ earth

D. Hierom. ca. 9. in Mat. Luke 4.

Hiero. Card. de rer. varie. 15. cap. 18.

(from whence commeth that ſtarring whiche the Greekes call *Aſtroboliſmos*, or ſtarre blaſting) and finally vnto fiſhes, the elements being infected by ỹ noyſom meeting (as it is thoght) of *Saturne* and *Mars* in the houſe of the virgin, or of the Twinnes, through the Eccliſpe of the Moone, or of the Sunne, & ſuch other like added circumſtances. This miſerable ſickneſſe, commeth many times vpon mẽ ſo ſodenly, that many within the ſpace of 10. or 20. houres without any ague, amongeſt their doinges at home or abroad, or their publike buſines, without any certaine ſigne either of vrine or pulſe, in the Church, in the high way, in publike offices, yea ſometimes in feaſtes (O lamentable condition of mans nature!) are taken away in a ſhort time vpon the ſodaine, being mery, iocond, and fearing nothing. Wherefore in this kinde of peſtilence they thinke this ſinguler remedie (flie quickly, far off, come ſlowly again) to be a moſt ſafe preſeruatiue.

Cor. Cel. lib. 1. cap. 10.

3 The plague by infection.

As for that plague, which hath his originall and beginning from infection, the ſame is gotten either by companying or lying together, or by ſome diſpoſition from the partie that is infected with it, and commeth through the meere negligence of men: albeit at ſometimes it rage as horly as the 2. former, whẽ it lighteth vpõ fit bodies

Franciſ. de pedem. cap. 6 de Febr. putre.

bodies, that is, ſuch as abound with ill humours, or are prone vnto rottēnes, as fire amōgſt ſtuble and dayly taketh ſtrength through the careleſnes of ſuch, as are vnwarie, and deſpiſe good counſail, and liueth by mouing it ſelfe, and waxeth ſtrong by ſpreading abrod: ſo that of a priuate hurt there groweth a publike, of a particular an vniuerſal in the end, like as of a ſmal ſpark, a great fire, and according to that ſaying of the Poet,

Pet. Bayr. de med. morb. diſtinc. 21. trac. 2. cap. 3

One naughtie man oft times dooth make
a Citie whole be puniſhed.

This kinde of common ſickneſſe was not knowen either vnto the Greekes or Arabians, as *Cardanus* witneſſeth, with whome I eaſilie agree. For when as they liued more temperately, and in time ſought the helpe of the Phiſition, and receiued the ſame, and kepte companie warilye with ſuch as were ſicke, they did the more eaſily let the ſpreading abroad of this ſickneſſe.

De variet. rer. 8. ca. 46.

Which things ſtanding ſo, it may eaſily bee vnderſtood, after what ſort the ſcripture reporteth the plague to bee ſent vpon men by God, and by what meanes he deliuereth ſuch as obey his commandements from the ſame. For I willingly graunt, that no haire falleth from our head without his will, that there is no euill

in the Citie, which the Lord hath not done. But againe my iudgement is, that theſe things come not alwaies immediately from God, in ſuch ſort as he may be ſaid to be the next cauſe of them: naye they are to be ſaide more rightlie & more properlie to grow from their owne, and from ſuch nature of next cauſes, rather then in reſpecte of the prouidence of God. Becauſe that euerye thing is to haue his name from his inwarde or next groundes, that is from his owne nature, and not from outward cauſes. For what if a dronken man ſhould fall into the fire, or into the water: or through hauing his ſtomack ouerquatted with meate and drinke, ſeeking to procure vomit, ſhoulde breake a veine of the breaſte, and ſo come into a phthiſicke, will you rather laye this vnto GOD, then vnto the intemperancy of this drunken ſotte? If a man liuing in idleneſſe, and dailie ſurfetting, glutting him ſelfe vnſeaſonably and vnorderlie with too much and moiſte meate, wallowing in riotouſneſſe, giuen wholy to whordome, daunceinges, bathes, ſleepe, vſing one while the colde, an other while the hot aire, gathering great ſtore of rawnes and fleam eſpecially in the winter, and in a cold countrie, in a rainie wether, by nature moyſt, groſſe, in age verie old or young: if ſuch a one (Iſaie) fal into a *quotidian* ague, will

Ch. Pezel. 3 part. arg. Philip. de neceſſ. & fat. arg. 7. W. Muſc. Loc. com. de afflict.

will you not rather impute it vnto the nature and negligence of the man, then vnto the prouidence of God? But if besides the simple rottenesse, these humours gathered together, and through the continuaunce of time by little and little waxing worse, and partaking with some poison, shal haue hurtfulnesse from else where: and that happilye there be added hereunto the infections of the aire by infected fennes, lakes, deunes, caues, the carkases or dounge of men and beastes, or of some other more stronge sauours, and that the proceede of the inordinate excesses of times and seasons, and do pearse into the bodie of man alreadie apt to receiue them, or with meate, or with the aire, or with any other meanes else: If, I say, these things thus fall out, and bring forth the pestilent and euil agues of their nature, who will not rather lay the fault vpon the nature both of the aire and rottennes, and also vpon the rashnes and heedelesnesse of men, then v pon the peculiar and meere punishment of God? So that the Gods in Homer doe iustly in this sort complaine:

Ioh. Farn. de feb. 4. cap. 17

Alas how mortal men on Gods do euery foote complain: affirming that their miseries from vs proceede, when as their own desertes & wickednes beyonde their fate doe cause their punishments!

For

For ſome are wrapped in the like error in a maner, in the which ſome of the interpreters of Hippocrates are intangled. For when as he willed the Phiſitions to marke whether there were any thing from God in the diſeaſe, they (ſaieth he) drew this hereunto, as if men were ſtroken with ſickenes, through the anger of the Gods. Which *Galen* in his Commentaries according to the meaning of the ſame *Hippocrates*, doth vtterly deny. For albeit both of them iudged not diſtinctly and plainely enough of this matter, as being voide of the true knowledge of God: yet what things ſoeuer haue cauſes vnknowen to ſome bodie, or farre contrary vnto the opinion of the common people, are not by and by notwithſtanding to be ſaid, to be ſimply diuine or from God, although peraduenture a man may tearme them wonderful.

1. *Epid. 1. Gal. in prog. Hip. cõmen. 1*

What is the cauſe then, wil ſome man aske, why ſo commonly and conſtantly men do iudg this ſicknes of the plague aboue al others, to be a puniſhment ſent from God? It is becauſe, that for the moſt part they finde it to be a grieuous and cruell euill? For the olde Writers as well Greekes as Latines vſe to call that holye or diuine, which is vnuſuall, vehement and wonderful. Be it ſo, yet this is euidēt by the teſtimonies of learned and godly men, that, as hath bin ſaide

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in the beginning, it is not alwaies a punishment immediately sent from God, as they either of ignoraunce, or too much scrupulositie and spicednes of conscience haue perswaded thēselues. *S. Hierom* saieth, that many infirmities of the bodie (which indeede is to be graunted vnto him) doe come becausse of sinnes: ergo by the selfe same saying hee seemeth to shew, that manie doe happen for other causes, that is by nature, or through the vnaduisednesse and negligence of men, whiche thing Luther confesseth willinglye of the plague of Witeberge in the yeere 27. And *Basilius* the great, both in deed and name, affyrmeth that all sicknesses are not of nature, or of careless diet, or other originalles, which Phisicke maye helpe, but oftentimes to be God his whippes for sinnes, sente of God for our conuersion, accordinge to that saying: *Whom the Lord loueth, he chastizeth: yea he chastizeth euery sonne, whom he receiueth.* *Hieron. in Mat. 9.*

Doubtlesse, where he saith not all, and oftentimes, he by the selfe same coufesseth, that some scourges are of nature also, and many times not to come immediately from God. I could prooue the same by many and most manifest testimonies of most excellent and chiefe men, but I thinke there is no man, vnlesse hee bee all to gether voyde

voyd of eies and mind, or wedded to his own opinion, haue his wits on wol gathering (as they say) which wil denie the same. Wherefore sith that which we say, is agreeable vnto truth, away with their vnskilful standing in their owne opinion, who being perswaded, that all plague commeth immediately from God, would haue no endeuour, no trauel vsed by men to the driuinge awaye of the same, but that only with the Heretikes called Euchites or Prayarres, wee ought to flie vnto praier & supplications: prating that al the labours and charges of men are in vaine and vnprofitable: the which opinion there be some that haue of al other diseases. For we haue to think far otherwise, who when as we do godly confesse that all things are subiect vnto God, and gouerned by his appoyntment: yet do hold that many thinges come to passe through our own defaulte and course of nature, the which after God, both may & ought to be remedied, auoided, yea and also chaunged by the helpe and trauaile of man.

There are too many, euen among professours of this fond opinion.

To the right Honourable the L. Consuls, and to the right Worshipful the Senators of the Common wealth of *Bream*, *Stadeen*, and *Boxtehud*, his Lords and Patrons most highly to be reuerenced, salutation and tranquilitie.

IT is a thing to be lamented, (right Honorable & Worshipful) that the nature of man, through the fal of our first Parent, is runne into suche miserie, yea, and so farre blinded, that is, must continually beare not onely manye discommodities, tentations of Sathan, persecutions of menne, wars, troubles, famines, al kind of diseases, and finally death it selfe, but also that it neyther vnderstandeth the causes of these euilles, nor yet seeketh or receiueth fitte remedies for the same. The miseries of the life of man.

For there are many of so peeuishe nature, that if they know any, that can both shew thē their greef, & also giue them medicin against the same, & be moreouer willing so to do, they think that they are rather to laugh at them, & to beare grudg and hatred against them, then friendly to heare them, or to giue them any reward for their labour. Which despite, if anye

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in the world, truly Diuines & Phisitions are wont especially to feele: as who then at length begin to be hated of some, when as they haue done them most good, & do proue indeed by experience true, that which Xenophō affirmeth, namely shamlesnes to be the companion of vnthankfulnes. Which thing although it bee so, & that I my self sōtimes haue had profe hereof, yet haue I not iudged, that I ought therfore to slack diligently to do the dutie of a Christiā Phisition, both in studying out of such thinges, as are profitable, & in putting thē in practise which I haue founde out, by al meanes that lyeth in me, with hand and foote. Wherfore, whē as certaine yeeres past, folowing the counsaile of Mesua, wherin he biddeth in al things to set God before, I haue published, and put forth 2. treatises of matters in diuinitie, which are the true Phisick of the soule: in the one whereof, which is written against the absurd and fond heresies of our time, I haue gone about to roote out false opinions, being as it were corrupt humours: in the other, which is entituled, of the knowledge of the wil, & grace of God, & of the fruits & signes of this true knowledg, my meaning was with sound doctrine of Christian religion, as it were with good & holsom nourishment, to feede and strengthen the vnskilfull: I

many

many times thought, and hereafter wil think, if God ſpare me life, according to my power, to perfourme the ſame, in mine own proper profeſsion, that is, in the Phiſicke of the bodye.

But whereas I haue ſpoken of Diuinitie, I would not haue it ſo taken, as if I meant raſhly to thruſt my ſickle into an other man his harueſt, & to play the buſie body. For letting paſſe great & weightie controuerſies, I onely dealt with thoſe things, which are approued of al, or inueighed againſt ſuch things, which are improued of the better ſorte, and that with ſuch reaſons, which I haue learned & marked, both in the ſchooles and alſo in the Church. Wherfore I think it no vnlawful thing, if the ſcholler render ſome parte of his Leſſon: ſith it is manifeſt by the teſtimony of al men, that from the firſt beginning of the world, euen vnto our time, it is not onely right and lawful, that men indued with the vſe of reaſō, might iudge of religion, but alſo that it is profitable and neceſſarie, that they be able perfectly to iudge, that is to ſaye: to diſcerne and knowe the falſe from the true, the hurtfull from the holſome, the counterfeited by men, from that which is deliuered by God. For like as al men conſiſte of two partes, that is, of a ſoule, and of a bodye, ſo alſo there ought to be in al men a twofolde

The ſtudie of diuinitie appertaineth vntoal.

action:

action: one, wherewith it becommeth vs to magnifie God, and to prayse him: the other, whereby we are bounde to imploye our studie and trauaile vpon the Common wealth. And as there is notwithstanding great kinred amongst them selues, betweene these two parts, albeit they be distinct and seuerall by nature: so these actions cannot without great wickednes bee parted asunder, the one from the other.

Wherefore they doe very wickedly, whiche doe so follow their wordly busines, either publike or priuate, that they haue either none at all, or else verye small regarde of diuine matters: and not like men, which for the studie of diuinitie doe forslow their matters at home & abroad. Vnto whith iudgemente your wisdome also giueth moste honourable witnesse, whileste in your Cities you studie not onely this, that your citizens may liue together commodiously and quietly, but also beeing instructed in the doctrine of saluation most rightly, maye walke godly and holyly. For where but one of these thinges onely is cared for, it cannot bee, that the Common wealth & the Church can any long time be happily gouerned. Which thing, besides the examples of certaine other countryes, the most afflicted kingdō of France,

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and the miserable Prouinces of the low Countries in Flaunders (alas for pitie) doe at this day declare. For what other cause is there of their miserie, such almost as hath not beene heard of, than the contempt of pure religion, the not caring for the trueth of God, and the wicked persecution of those which were followers of true godlines? For whilest the magistrate doth rather seeke to maintaine his own authoritie then the pure seruice of God, constreineth his subiects to obey his wil, rather then the wil of God: And finallye giueth eare to the counsailes of moste wicked Doeg and Machiauel, rather then vnto the counsailes of Gamaliel and Abdias: there must needs folow such effects, as there haue gone causes before. And because ỹ I know you with al your heart to deteste this hurtful opinion & meere tirannical kind of gouernment: & rather endeuour hereunto, that it may go very well with your subiects of your dominiõ, aswel in minde, as bodie, I cannot chuse but highly commend this godly meaning, & moste holy care of yours: and not only cõmẽd it, but also according to my duty with my labour & trauail such as it is, to help forward the same. For as much therfore as at this time ỹ same sore sickenes of the plague, ẅ Galẽ doth rightly tearm a cruel Dragon, doth beginne

De ther. ad pison.

ginne to breed euery where through out al our countrie of Germanie in a manner, & is very hot in some places not farre from vs, and as it goeth, like vnto a Canker, eateth vppe all the thinges that are next vnto it: manye learned Phisitions haue written diligently of the curing of those, which are taken with this disease, & also of the preseruation of euerye perticular person, & haue left their counsails in whole bookes, a practise greatly doubtlesse to be commended: but beecause I haue perceiued this their endeuour not to be sufficiēt, but that ỹ infectiō is daily neuertheles increased, & groweth with his stirring, & gathereth strēgth by going, especialy because there is no publike course & order taken for the auoyding of this euil, I haue cōsidered, that there is need of sōe greater help, namly, which must be vsed by the authority of the magistrat, in whose trauel the chief hope of staying this miserie consisteth & lieth. Concerning Ẅ, whē as in times past I had gathered something, which I had noted in most famous Cities & countries, partly by vse and experience, & partly had iudged to be agreeable vnto reason, I thought it might be a work worth the trauaile, if I should beat it again vpon the anuil, & set it forth: that if happily sōe certaine could be perswaded, ỹ for the turning away of

of this euil some thing might bee done by the trauaile of man, they might haue some course to folow: and that if they should thinke some thing to be wanting in my counsaile and treatise, they might in deed and trauaile thẽselues supplie the same. For this cause is not suche, which may content it self only with fine speech & fit laying foorth of the matter, but such as being once with wisdome aduised vpon, must betimes be accomplished, and (as they say) bee brought into action.

And whereas right honorable my meaning hath beene to dedicate this my paines ioyntly to your L L. there were two causes especially mouing me thereunto: of ỹ which the first did seeme to binde me as it were by a certaine dutie: as in whose dominion I haue now spent almost these 18. yeeres, & haue had a publike stipende of the common wealth of Breme in especiall, and minding in a maner there to end my life, that of whom I haue receiued most benefits, to ỹ same I might rẽder again as much duty as in me lyeth. The second was cõsidered of me in the misterie of your number cõsisting of three, whileſt that in this Bishopricke you seemed vnto me as it were in one body to represent three principal members, the braine, the hearte, and the liuer, and in great consent of

mindes, in agreeable gouernment of your subiects, and finally in peaceable folowing of true religion, to resemble a most beautifull harmonie of a trinitie: wherein I iudged my selfe to owe this dutie not to one of 3. (especially sith this care appertaineth indifferently vnto all magistrates) but vnto three rather in one. Wherefore it shall bee your part (right honourable and most reuerend Lords & Patrones) to take in good woorth this testimonie of my readie good will and seruice, and to take as commended vnto you, this care of the cõmon saftie, which I haue heere in some measure portraited and drawen out. Which things if at any time they shall be onerruled by the ordinance of God, which cannot bee called backe, it shall be sufficient to haue approued your indeuour and good will vnto men. Christe Iesus the true turner away of all euill, and the Phisition as wel of the body as of the soule, begottē of vnbegotten, God in man, true life in death, (that I may end with the woordes of Egysippus) preserue you with your subiectes vnhurt of this deadly infection, and alwaies in good health. Dated at Breame *in the yeere* 1581.

Your H H. most bounden,

Iohn Ewich, D. of Phisicke.

¶ *Of the duetie of a faithful* and wise Magistrate, in preseruing and *deliuering the common wealth from* infection, in the time of the plague or Pestilence.

The first Booke.

That the care and charge of the common wealth belongeth vnto the Magistrate.

Cap. 1.

ESAIAS the diuine Prophet, & Homer the chiefe of Poets, the one enlightened with the heauenlie lawe, and the other with the law of nature, haue adorned and set out Princes and Magistrates with an excellent title, whilest the one in his tongue calleth them Omenim, that is to say, Nurses, to wit of the Churche: and the other tearmeth them Poimênos Laôn, that is, Pastors, or Shepheardes of the people: to witte for this cause, that they ought with wholsome lawes, and good discipline,

Esay. cap. 49. 60.

Homer. Ilia. ad. 1.

Plato 4. de Repub.

to gouerne, and defend their subiects, and also after a sort prouide for them such thinges as are necessarie for their food & liuing. For albeit they doe not as Parentes to their children, put in euery one his hand, what to eate and drinke: albeit they nourishe not vs being idle, yet when as by wise pollicie they bring this to passe, that nothing be wanting, what euery mã laboureth either by traffick, or trauel, or goodes to get, and that what by honest meanes is gotten, the same he may in safetie possesse, and with gladnesse enioy, they haue not without a cause giuen vnto them this honourable title and commendation. And as it is not sufficient for a diligent nurse & faithful Pastor to haue prouided for his nurse childe, & flock, such things as are requisite & needful vnto the necessary vses of life, but also they be careful to turne away ỹ things which might endammage their health, & to prouide wholesome remedy for them being in danger: So also the wise and faithful Magistrate ought not onely to haue care and diligence for those things whiche concerne the trade of lawfull traffick, and diligent practise of handy crafts, the preseruing of peace, and keeping of quiet among the Citizens, but also he ought to prohibite or let those thinges which may eyther

A comparison.

ther take away the same, or greatly weaken, or infect the whole societie and fellowshippe with daylie contagion or infection, & assayle and destroye with miserable ruine, the life of euery particular member: iudging the looking vnto the common safetie to be the chiefest part of his rule and office. For if they be Goddes (and as the Psalmist himselfe both king and ruler tearmeth them) the sonnes of the most highest, certes it is their partes to knowe, that they in this poynt are with all diligence to imitate and followe GOD, of whom we daylie craue both thinges needefull, and also pray to bee kept from thinges not needefull or hurtfull: that they furnishe the Citie, not onelie with profitable, necessarie, and wholesome thinges, but preserue & deliuer it from thinges also vnprofitable and hurtfull. Which thinges when as the heathen sawe, albeit ignoraunt of the true God, that this was a thinge highlye needefull, and in a manner heauenlie, they called their Kinges and Rulers of the people, Goddes, not proportionablie, as the Jewes and Christians, but in verie deede, & began to honour mortall men with honour diuine or belonging vnto God. For when as there neuer yet was anye nation so

Galen. ad Pison. cap. 2.

Psal. 81.

barbarous, whiche had not some feeling of ꝑ godhead: nay when as the Apostle in playne wordes affirmeth, ꝑ for this same cause ꝑ very Gentiles are without excuse, because ꝑ they had written in their mindes, which might bee knowen concerning God: who would think them so foulie to be deceaued, in that they iudged those to be, to be honored for Goddes (which Plinie said to be a diuine thing) whō they saw to imploy al their indeuour to help others? For albeit they did not rightly giue vnto many, that thing whiche was due vnto one: yet by the power of nature they profited thus farre, that they almost atteyned vnto the knowledge of the nature and office of God, although they did not rightlie worship him. Moreouer ꝑ Apostle in an other place compareth the Churche vnto the bodie of a man: for as the members of a man haue euery one their power and office, yet are all gouerned by the onely vertue of the braine, desire and imbrace things profitable, & shunne thinges hurtfull: so also the magistrates, who in this externall or outward societie or fellowship, are the head of the common people, ought to set before the other Citizens profitable thinges, and keepe away thinges hurtfull, that they may bee saide truelie to fulfill

Rom. 1.

Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 7.

fulfill the office of Pastors and Nurses.

But if any man will say, that it is the proper office of God, to preserue and gouerne mankinde, the which in his singuler counsel he hath made: I answere, that this indeed is true, but yet as God by the ministery or seruice of man doeth teache vs, deliuer vs from sinne, make vs partaker of his grace and saue vs, albeeit in very deede these same are not the workes of men: euen so he doth gouerne and preserue the life of man by the seruice of those men, whō he chooseth vnto this office, and suffereth to be partakers of this prayse. Hereuppon Romulus, whiche buylded the Citie of Rome, and is thought to bee that Quirinus, was by a certayne right reckoned in the number of the Goddes, because that hee shewed himselfe a louing and bounteous gouernour vnto the people. Hercules borne of Iupiter and Alcmena, gotte not onelie this name, (for thus the Oracle answered, Immortal fame by helping mē, thou certainly shalt win) which was aduāced with immortal honour, but also was registred in the bedroll of the goddes, because that with vnweartable toyle, and most singuler labour, he killed such mōsters, as endammaged men, and brought them greate daun-

Obiection.

Answeare.

Cic. de leg.

Romulus.

Aug. de ciuitate Dei, 2. cap. 15.

Hercules.

Apollo. *Aesculapius.*

ger. Apollo and his sonne Æsculapius because of their phisicke, wherewith they did much good vnto men, obteyned the name of gods. I blush at the telling of it, our Elders through a like errour builded temples vnto many, & gaue honour vnto them, such as belōgeth vnto God, of whō it is scarse certayne, whether they euer were in ỳ world, or at least wise any light opiniō, ỳ they haue performed vnto others such like duetie. Wherfore, albeit we iudge them to haue committed no smal fault: yet in that they acknowledged them to be worthie singuler renowne which did good vnto many, I thinke their infirmity or weaknes rather to be to be excused, then to be followed. For this doubtlesse out of their too much lightnes in belief is manifest, that it especially cōcerneth those which haue the rule of others, to procure & maintaine the safety of their subiects by al the meanes they can, all things ỳ might empayre the same beeing betimes & wisely taken out of the way. Wherfore who wil make any doubt in this state of thinges whereof we here intreate, namely, of the infection of the plague, that the godlie & wise magistrate ought to deale not slowlie, but lustely, (for here is no roome for slouth, & that which Hippocrates affirmeth, delay

Galen. ad Pison. 2.

In Epistola ad Crate.

in

in all diſeaſes to be daungerous, the ſame in this death bringing ſickneſſe eſpeciallie falleth out) not ſparingly, but plenteouſly, & not onelie to prouide for thinges healthfull, but alſo that concerning thinges hurtfull, he ought to be careful in time, & wiſelie to turne away the ſame? For wheras the plague is a moſt hurtfull & alſo moſt infectious diſeaſe, yea (as Galen ſpeaketh) as it were a certayn dragō, whiche breatheth out poyſon againſt mā, & vtterly denieth all truſe-taking, & very ſeldome commeth vnto conditions of peace, he greatlie offendeth againſt the rule of charitie, whoſoeuer according to his abilitie doeth not ſeek and bring ſome ayde, as it were a preſeruatiue, to maiſter this Dragon, and the Magiſtrate moſte of all, who in this common calamitie or miſerye both can and ought in compariſon of others to doe moſt. Neyther in this caſe ought the authoritye of certayne woorthie and moſt learned men to moue vs, who ſeeme too vndiſcreetely for to denie, that this care appertayneth vnto the Magiſtrate, whoſe office (ſay they) it is not to ridde men from diſeaſes, but onelye to mainteine the ſaftie and peace of our life and goodes. For it may euen out of their owne woordes bee prooued ſufficientlie,

Vide Octauianum medic. in prafat. operis ſui.

that albeit the magistrate ought not to cure the diseases of euery seueral man, or preserue them from suche as doe not openlie raunge, nor haue common causes, (for this is the proper duetie of the Phisitions) yet whē as they holde it to bee belonging to their charge, by their seruice and authoritie to perfourme, that their subiectes may liue commodiously: who seeth not, that this commodiousnes doth also appertayne vnto the health of the bodye? Whiche thing he that beleueth not, the same hath neuer seene, howe miserablye all the duetics of men are cumbred, the order of the Churches, the exercises of Godlinesse, the instruction of youth, the traffike of Citizens, whereupon must needes ensue a moste grieuous destruction of particuler persons, when the plague troubleth a Citie or countrie. Wherefore, I appeale vnto thy selfe, whosoeuer thou be that art of this opinion, that thou thinkest not it to bee the duetie of the Magistrate, to preserue the common wealth from diseases (and especially commō diseases) doe not such sicknesses seeme vnto thee to be, to be numbred amongest other incommodities? And can men liue together commodiously, when as these diseases doe rage? Doubtles this canst thou not affirme,

if

if euer thou hast had experience before what the Plague is, or what it may worke, where it once hath preuayled: Why then, say I, doest thou think it a thing not apperteining vnto the duetie of the magistrate, to deliuer mē from such diseases, that is with publike care to defend? I pray thee hast thou not seen that which is vsuall in all well ordered common wealthes, how diligently in cities the Magistrate prouideth and storeth vp suche thinges as serue for the vse of warre: How carefully he prepareth weapons: How busily he reteineth garrisons set in a readines: Especially when hee is in feare of some hurt to ensue: and to what ende: but that men shoulde liue commodiously. Therefore are horses kept; shippes built; walles repayred, trēches digged, towres set vp, and bankes cast: but that the citizens should liue more commodiously in safetie against the inuasions or assaults of the enimies? Dogges are mayntained for the like cause, nettes are pitched, hunters are hyred, and troupes of countrie people drawe together, if at any time wolues or suche like beastes doe trouble a countrie. I remember in the kingdome of France, that certayne Leopards, which the king vseth to keepe, did breake out of ward, and in euerie

Le. Lemnius 2. de occul. nat. miracul. cap. 4.

place slue the countrie men. The whole cõtrie was musteres, & neither cost nor labour spared, vntil they had rid the land from that feare. How much more iustly then in this calamitie & miserie also ought there some prouidẽt course to be takẽ, wherby this so mightie an enimie, & cruel beast may be kept away from our throates, which in a very short time is wont to raunge verie farre, & as it were a Canker, eate vp euery thing ẏ is next it: To the end that the cleane in the old Testament should not keepe companie with the vnclean Lepers, by the authoritie of the Magistrate, there was made a separation, neither were they receiued among the other people, before that they were by the Priestes appoynted to this office, iudged cleansed after they were viewed naked. In like manner at this daye after a certaine resemblaunce of them (for the disease is not all one in them both, nor all one cause of separation) those with vs whiche are infected with the Lepzie, called Elephantiasis, are by a publike censure, & view, remoued from the companie of other men. The same custome, and with the same wisedome in iudging & ordering the sicke of the plague, keepeth the most famous, and almost in the whole world the most mighty cõmon

Lepers.

The Leprous called *Elephantiaci.*

The common wealth of the Venetians.

mon wealth of the Venetians, according vnto the patterne of whiche wisedome I haue rudely drawne this treatise of mine suche as it is. The same doth Antwerpe a Citie almost in populous trade of merchandize, and renowme of name, like vnto this. In the most noble Citie of Padway, I my selfe haue seene, when as then I there studied Phisicke, the Magistrate, calling together the Phisitions, and hearing the cause opened by them, whiche then grewe only of infection, to haue let passe no trauaile, no charges, to preserue and deliuer his Citizens from the same, the whiche hee happily accomplished in shorte time, albeit the disease were scattered through the whole Citie. I can auouch the same of Philip the Landgraue of Hassia, when as the Plague began to grow in the partes neere vnto him, who so carefully, and so fatherly dealt by the aduice of his Phisitions, whiche was published through al his dominiõs, ẏ he may worthily bee a patterne, for other godly and wise Princes & magistrates to followe, of the which in the next Chapter shall be spoken more at large

Antwerpe.

Padway.

Philip the Landgraue,

Lastly, ẏ like did ẏ magistrat of our worthy, & of me much to be honored, cõmon wealth, when

when as in the yeere 1565. hee had intelligence that this wylde beast through the vnwary dealing of some, had inuaded or assaulted a fewe houses of his citie: They called me into the Senate or Counsaile house, and asked my direction and aduice, how they might preserue without hurte the people by GOD committed vnto them, of a godlie care, and vnlesse I greatly bee deceaued, a care indeede moste beseeming a Christian Magistrate. Which thinges being so, if Princes & Magistrates be desirous to maintaine their name (which I said in the beginning, to haue beene giuen them not onely by the Prophetes, but also by wise men among the Heathen) and wil be indeed, as they are called in name, Nurses and Pastors, they must thinke that it standeth them vpon, faithfully and wisely to handle the matter, that in such a time of the plague, they let passe no care, which may by anie meanes make for the turning away of so deadlie and infectious a disease, and for the preseruing and deliuering of their subiectes from the same.

That

That the Magistrate before all thinges proclayme a publike repentance.

Cap. 2.

BUt some man maye peraduẽture say, you so deale, as if ẏ whole matter lay in ẏ foresight & strength of man, and make no mention of the help of God, on whõ hangeth all hope of victorie, especially in so doubtfull a battel: whẽ as notwithstanding by the iudgment of Mesua himselfe, it is manifest, that in al things which we doe, we ought to set God before, that we may make proofe of all thinges with more safety and boldnes. I answeare, when as I speake of the duetie of a faithfull Magistrate, and being my selfe a Christian, deale with Christians, that my meaning is, to haue these two thinges, that is to say, the grace of God, and trauayle of man, so linked together, that the one be not voyde of the helpe of the other. For Hippocrates hath sayd both very well, and verie godlye: It is indeede seemelie, and verie good to pray vnto the Goddes, but yet man

Obiection.

Answeare.

Lib. 1. de Insom.

He holds of manie godes like an Heathen.

man himselfe ought to doe some thing, and withall to call vppon the Goddes? Why so? Because man without God can do nothing, & God without man wil not doe all things. God indeed is bouteous, & man verie poore & needy, whē as he hath nothing which he hath not receiued at his hād, but god loueth to be asked, & ỳ mē by this meane should acknowledge their need: wherby we should be driuen to obey him in whom all our happines doth lie. If (saie Moses & Aaron) thou shalt diligently heare the voice of the Lorde thy God, and doe that whiche is right in his eyes, and shall obey his commandementes, and keepe all his statutes, I will sende no griefe vppon thee, whiche I haue sent vpon the Ægyptians, becauſe I am the Lord that healeth thee: but if yee shall not heare me, saith God, and shal not doe all these commaundementes, and if ye shal refuse my statuts, and fulfil not al my precepts, but shal rather make void my couenant, I also will do this vnto you: I will visite you with feare, swelling, and a burninge feuer, whiche shall consume your eyes, and make your lyfe to pyne awaye.

Leuit. 26.

Likewise in many other places there is especiall

cial mention made of the plague, which god eyther threatneth vnto the disobedient, or from the which he promiseth to deliuer the godly: so that there is no doubt, that albeit we vnderstand that euery plague is not the peculyar and proper punishment of GOD, nor yet alwayes immediatelye sent of God, (whiche is a thinge chiefiye to bee obserued and marked) but sometymes commeth eyther by the course of nature (as hath beene sayde beefore) or through the faulte and neglygence of men: yet whatsoeuer originall and beginning it hath, alwayes and beefore all thinges, wee must flye vnto the helpe of GOD, vnto whose myghtie hand wee moste assuredly beleeue all, both sickneſſe and health, lyfe and death to be subiect.

Num.14.
Deut.28.
Ezech.5.14
2.King.2.

The first and chiefe remedy.

Wherefore, when as it is manifest, that this cause also, whiche wee nowe haue in hande, doth especially concerne the Magistrate, according to his power to preserue his people from the daunger at hande, and from the infection of sickneſſe, or to deliuer them from the same when it is come: Fyrste of all lette them haue this care, that they them selues turninge earnestly & vnfeignedly vnto God, proclaime vnto

their

their subiectes vniuersally, and proclaymed, execute a publike repentance, which is wont to be shewed by prayers made both priuatly, and also in the solemn assemblie, & by almes and abstayning, not onelye from meate and drinke, but from all riot, daunsing, and banquetting: after the example of the people of Nineue, vnto whom when as the Lorde by his Prophet threatned punishement for their sinnes, the king inioyned a fast of 3. dayes, not onelie vnto the men, but also to the bruit beastes, besides other workes of repentance, that by this meanes they might reconcyle God being angrie, vnto them. When as Dauid had transgressed the commandement of the Lorde, there was sent vpon the people so fierce a pestilence, that in the space of three dayes there died 70. thousād persons. With the which plague Dauid being moued, confessed vnto the Lorde his sinne, and by prayer obteyned at his hand, that foorthwith all that affliction ceassed. The like is read of king Ezechias, when death was threatned vnto him, yet through earnest turning vnto God, and bitter weeping, his life was prolonged by the space of fifteene yeeres. It is also read that in the dayes of Elias, when as the heauens had bin shut vp three yeeres and more,

The Niniuites.

2. Chro. 20.

Ezechias.

Elias.

more, and that it raigned not a drop, whereupon followed a miserable dearth of victuals that at the prayer of Elias, this scarcitie was recompensed with sodaine plentie. Hitherto may worthilie be referred the commendable fact of the most honorable prince, D. Philip the Landgraue, whose publik writing concerning this matter, turned by mee into latin, I haue thought good to set down, as the perfect patterne of a faithful and wise Magistrate, for all men to follow: and thus it is in Englishe: Wee woulde haue it knowen to all and singuler our subiects, howe wee are giuen to vnderstande, that the infectious sicknes of the plague doth sore rage rounde about in places, neare vnto our dominions, insomuch that it is to be feared, that it will come also into our Territorie and Countrie, and assault our subiectes. For as much therefore as without all doubt, such a Plague is a punishment for sinne, wee doe all men to vnderstand, that first of all the turne earnestly vnto God, & desire of him pardon for their faulte: Secondly, that they vse them selues moderately in eating and drinking, & put their trust in God, who is the onely and true Phisition for our griefe.

The Proclamation of Philip the Landgraue.

griefe. Wee haue also of our louing minde to doe good vnto our subiectes, called together our Phisitions, and commaunded them to take aduice, and by common consent to consulte and prescribe remedies, as well for the poore as the rich, wherwith next after the calling vpō of God, euery one may preserue & defende himselfe against this deadly and infectious disease, or if he be taken with it, howe hee should order himselfe, and bee healed, as by order is plainely in this our writing set downe: according vnto the direction whereof, let euery one after his power gouerne himselfe: but that aboue all thinges, that hee knowe howe hee ought to trust in God, who is our onely aide in troubles, and stedfastly to cleaue vnto him, &c. These are the woordes of the most vertuous and gentle Prince: the rest which appertaineth vnto the order and kindes of the medicines, I will not heere expresse. Last of all, of a like testimonie of Godlinesse, and loue towardes his Citizens, our Magistrate also in the yeere 65. when as our Citie was visited with the Plague, gaue commandement vnto all the Ministers of his Church, that

that they shoulde often call the people to repentance, to the dueties of charitie one towardes another: to bee short, that they shold diligently and dayly exhort them to the looking vnto the health of them and theirs, according to the rule prescribed & published by me at his commandement. For they did acknowledge that which the Apostle saide, to be most certaine & true: God is faithful, & will not the death of a sinner but that he should turne and liue. The whiche thing hee plainely proued, when as he gaue his only begotten sonne vnto death, and that vnto the death of the crosse for our sakes. Also S. Iohn teacheth vs, that wee should not sinne: and that if we sinne, we haue an aduocat with the father, who maketh intercession for the whole worlde. In these most praise woorthie examples shine foorth, and are shewed not only a true care of the magistrat towards his subiects, but also especiall godlines towards God, and fruits of the truth of the Gospel. Through the following & steps of the whiche, euery one for his part also ought to be stirred vp & strēgthned to pray vnto god, & vndoutedly beleeue, ẏ it appertaineth also vnto him, which Christ said vnto ẏ sick of ẏ palsie: Son be of good

cheare, thy sinnes are forgiuen thee: Also to the Leper, I will that thou be healed, be thou cleane.

Of ordeining preseruers of health.

Cap. 3.



Eeing nowe fortified with these preparatiues, and as it were spirituall weapons: namely with a good conscience towardes God, & sure trust of ỹ forgiuenes of our sinnes (whiche are the first and chiefe causes of all miseries) shewed vs, and grace promised, the faithfull and wise Magistrate ought to followe the vsuall and commendable custome of common wealthes in the tyme of warre. And what is that? When there commethe newes, that some mightie Tyraunt, whome wee suspecte for to beare vs yll will, is in armes, hath gathered a power, and lyeth lingering about our borders, and that it is not well knowen vpon whom first hee will make assaulte, they vse to appoint theyr Generalles and Captaines, which

which are bounde vnto them, and with these when as the whole Senate, or Counsaile are without power and victuals, they take aduice howe they may peraduenture goe against their enemie, that betimes they may driue him from their Coastes. The like wee doe when as counsaile is to bee taken at the same time for publike munition, for walles, for banckes, for gunnes, and all kinde of armour, that search & notice may bee taken by calling together the Ediles, Carpenters, and artificers, what they haue alreadie, what is wanting, what time and charge is needefull for the furnishing of suche thinges as lacke, that laying their strength together, and diducting or taking out the charges from the whole summe, wee may knowe howe long we are able to wage battaile. So surely, & with no lesse carefulnesse, in the riseneſſe of suche infectious diseases breeding, ought the Magistrate for to doe, that calling together the phisitions, prouision with all diligence bee had, howe, after the calling vppon D D D, and the commending of vs and our affaires faithfully vnto him, so farre as by the trauaile and power of man,

Eccle. 18 *Ruffin. in præfat. hiſto. Eccle.*

may bee, wee may meete with the disease as it is in comming, and looke not for this: Too late the medicine is prepared, when tract of time the griefe hath rypde: nor, when the Steede is stolne, that then we shut the stable dore: Whiche is not only a point of great foolishnesse and madnesse, but also against the dutie of a faithfull and wise Magistrate, whiche wee haue taken in hande to set foorth. Unto which matter, albeit there bee required more wisdome and experience of thinges then I acknowledge to bee in my selfe: yet because this argument hath beene throughly handeled of none before this time (so farre as I knowe) and published in writing, if I bring to passe nothing els, yet I shall procure thus muche at leastwise, that I shall stirre vp either such as are better learned, to supplie with more skill, that which in mee is wanting, or that they vnto whome this charge shall bee committed for to execute, may performe that in deed, which shall be lacking in my wordes. For mee it shall bee sufficient to haue made proofe, if not of any singuler labour, yet at the least of a notable good will to benefite men. For this cause is not such as contenteth it selfe with fine speeche, but which being

ing wisely & well aduised vpon, ought speedily to bee put in practise: and that whiche Plato hath saide of all vertue, that it is begunne of vnderstanding, whereby is inquired what is to bee done, & ended in fortitude, whereby it is finished in act, the same doubtlesse in this matter is especially needefull.

Where then at length or from whence shall wee take our beginning? namely, from the very same persons, by whose appointmēt in a maner all thinges which hereafter are to bee ordeined, must bee doone and ordered: and these also as in name, so likewise in deede shall bee preseruers of health: not manie in number (for nature hath ordeined a fewe to beare rule, and many to obey) but only three, chosen out of the whole companie, partly of the Senate, or as it were the Benche, and partly of the other Citizens, as they shall bee thought most meete for that purpose, sounde in maners, fearing God, endued with experience of thinges, and reasonable knowledge in learning (if it may bee) beloued of the Citizens, carefull for the publike health, faithfull, graue, yeelding nothing to their priuate gaine, glory, loue, hatred, enuy, or any affectiō. If any thing fal out, wherin they are not able to deale wel, that same

Preseruers of health.

they shall bring to the whole Senate or Benche, and from thence as from a common head spring, shall aske what is needefull to bee done. And they are to consider, and most certainely to perswade themselues, that the way to remoue for ỹ most part so great an euil, doth next after the helpe of God, consist and lye in their trauaile and diligence. For as it belongeth vnto the Phisitions to prouide that the bodies of particuler persons fall not into the Plague through the constitution of the aire: so shall it be the dutie of these preseruers, to let, or take away the publike and outwarde infection.

Nowe if it, whiche I say, shall seeme newe vnto any man, let him vnderstand that I heere goe about a newe in deede, but yet very necessarie poynt of pollicie. For it followeth not, that if a thing bee newe, it is therefore also hurtfull: for all things which now are old, were sometime new: and such newe thinges as notwithstanding with aduice and reason are now taken in hande, and ordeined, may with good lucees receiue age, & become olde. And whereas in all partes of ỹ cõmon welth, there are certaine with wisdome made rulers, which take charge of the same,

same as ỳ Ediles foꝛ buildings, ỳ Tribunes foꝛ warre, the Maisters of schooles foꝛ places of learning, the viewers of Dꝛugges foꝛ medicines. Moꝛeouer, when as in all things oꝛder is better then diſoꝛder alwais, and that God him ſelfe is the Authour and defendoꝛ of oꝛder, I hope that wiſe men wil eaſily graunt, that common wealthes maye admit and receiue this newneſſe. Foꝛ albeit at the firſt it will ſeeme ſomewhat hard vnto ſuch as are not acquainted with it, yet by vſe it will waxe gentle, and become moꝛe acceptable oꝛ better lyked. Foꝛ as Balthaſar Caſtilionenſis hath ſaide very well, an Italyan wꝛiter: Vſe can doe more then reaſon, in bringing in of new thinges, and putting away of old. Now what I would haue looked vnto by this newe Magiſtrate, and what oꝛder by them is to be appoynted, as well in perſons, as in all other thinges: Moꝛeouer, howe the hole and alſo the ſicke, (ſo far as pertaineth vnto the publik charg, foꝛ here regarde is not had of euerye particular perſon) ought beſt to be pꝛouided foꝛ, I will diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly, as being thereunto by the whole Senate oꝛ bench required (foꝛ ſo dooth the regarde of mine office alway require) hereafter endeuour

De Aulico. lib. 1.

nour openly to shew, and set downe euerye thing seuerally in his Chapiter.

Of Phisitions, Chirurgians, and Apothecaries.

Cap. 5.



These therefore appoynted Preseruers (as I tearmed them) by the common consent of the Senate or bench, and by ỹ assent of the Citizens (if neede be) the firste thing of all, that they shal think they ought to see vnto, shalbe, that they prouide the common wealth of Phisitions, Chirurgians, and suche as they commonlye call Apothecaries, such as for yeares, fame, experience, honestie of manners, virtue, and the feare of God, they shall iudge to bee best lyked and fitte. Which conditioned men, if happilye the common wealth haue not, or cã not haue, (for it is an harde thing to finde such, and so perfect, especially in so daungerous times) yeat at least, that they be carefull, to haue them in the next degree, and that they may

be

be commended, & excel for faithfulneſſe, temperancie, painfulneſſe, and reaſonable experience. And theſe being hyred for a conuenient ſtipend, & bounde by oth vnto the common wealth, that they take no occaſion to ſtart away, for feare of the ſickneſſe greatly increaſing (ſuch is man his weakeneſſe) they muſt ſeuerally euerye one of them bee put in minde of their office: namelye, that manfullye ſhakinge off the feare of death, they luſtilye imploye them ſelues to approue their faithfulneſſe and ſeruice both vnto God and man: conſidering that God is the beholder and iudge of the things which they doe, howſoeuer they may be hid from the cõmon people vnſkilfull in the arte. If they doe anye thing through errour or deceite, that it ſhal not be vnpuniſhed: but if they ſhal behaue them ſelues in their office diligently and faythfully, that then they ſhall receyue a farre greater rewarde after this lyfe, then can of men in this world be payd vnto them. Well ſhall it go (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) with that man, which faithfully dealeth with the ſicke: for at what time hee him ſelfe ſhall ſuffer any trouble, the Lorde in like manner will helpe him. *Pſal.40.* *Eccle.7.*

The Phiſition priuatelye muſt bee put in The Phiſition.

Hipp. de decenti ornatu. Item in lib. de præc. med.

in mind by the preseruers, that he often consider, how great an hope of al men he taketh vpon him, whereby all the Citizens will haue him in admiration, and reuerence him as it were some God, sent downe from heauen. Also how great good wil he shal winne among the men of all degrees, who with good successe shall vse his helpe, and be healed: and how notable a name he shall get amongst others, which shall not be forgotten, no not after death. For albeit the vnthankfulnesse of some be verye great, especiallye towardes Phisitions: yet many will bee so bounteous, that with their liberalitie, they will bounteously recompence, that which others of couetousnes forestow to doe. That it is the part of honest men to haue more regarde of their duetie then of gaine, and rather to seeke and haue an eie vnto the healthe of the Citizens, (whereunto a Christian phisition ought to referre and apply all his labours) then either vnto promotion or riches. And therefore that he shew him selfe gentle and curteous vnto al persons, that he afoord the poore not onely his seruice, but also his monye according to his abilitie: and that of the rich he receiue the reward, whiche they giue him with such modestie and chearfulnes,

fulneſſe, that he may ſeeme to loue the gifte for the mens ſake, and not the men for the gift ſake: that ambition and the wicked deſire of hauing, beecommeth braggynge and vaineglorious Theſſalians and Paracelſians, not ſuche as are deſirous of their owne health, or the health of their Citizens: But rather let them ſtudie night and day, that whatſoeuer is profitable, whereby with his arte, he may from ſo daungerous an enemie preſerue and cure thoſe that are committed to his truſte and charge, let him vſe the ſame betimes, and wiſely in the feare of God, that hee may ſo neere as may be, come vnto that point, ſpeedily, ſafely, pleaſantly (wherein doth conſiſt the whole office of a wiſe & godly Phiſition.)

Chirurgians.

Let the Chirurgions be admoniſhed, that they ſhew themſelues readye and warie in all thinges. Alſo, that they imparte their counſailes with the Phiſitions, and doe all thinges by their appoyntment. For, albeit that now adayes through the faulte as well of times as men, it be a ſeuerall profeſſion, which in times paſt was one: and that this parte which is called Chirurgerie, be tranſlated vnto them: yet they knowe, that there are many hard poyntes in it, which vnleſſe they

they learne of skilfull Phisitions, and deale by their counsaile, they shal not be well able to keepe their standing, and shal many times to their owne shame bring slander to so worthy an arte, and through their negligence and vnskilfulnesse be euill spoken of & diffamed amongst others. Let them therefore be perswaded, that it is neyther shamefull nor vnseemely, which Solon said of himselfe, I waxe olde, alwayes learning somwhat. And that which Hippocrates saith: In the daunger of a present matter, ignoraunce casting as it were a cloude of darkenesse, others also must be sent for, that by common consent, the cause of the sicke body may be enquired on, and knowen, and that they may bee fellowe workers in helping him. For (as the same saieth) in continuaunce of the griefe, the sicknesse increasinge, for wante of counsayle, manye thinges at the presente are forgotten. But let our Chirurgians haue ready stuffe fit for the making of oyntments, plaisters, and medicines, moistening (for with these instrumentes in this sickness for the most parte their art is finished.) And let them not lacke launces to open the vaine, nor knives to cut, nor yrons to seare,

Hipp. de præcep.

if

if the ſore or impoſtume (as manye times it happeneth) ſhal breake out.

Fynally, let the Apothecary be inſtructed, to haue in a readineſſe all kind of needful remedies, as wel ſimple as compound, expulſiue, preſeruatiue, &c. and let him faithfullye miniſter them by the appoyntmente of the Phyſitions accoꝛding to the neede of euery one, and ſell them foꝛ a reaſonable pꝛice. Let him conſider that in a maner ỹ whole direction and ſucceſſe of the counſaile and action of the Phyſition and Chirurgian doeth depende on him. Foꝛ what ſhall pꝛofit them to deale artificiallye and paynefully, if hee vnfaythfullye and careleſſye miniſter thoſe thinges, whereby the arte and whole charge with pꝛayſe is to bee executed? Let him not thinke, that he hath nowe gotten an occaſion to robbe and ſpoile, when as hee ſeeth the Citizens in extreame neceſſitie, compelled to come by flockes vnto his ſhoppe: but rather that hee is as it were a cooke (by which name, my meaning is not to impeach his commendation, when as neither Galen him ſelfe any thing at all repꝛocheth ỹ vnwoꝛthyneſſe of Phyſitions, in comparing his arte vnto repayꝛing of old rotten houſes) whiche ought to aſſwage

The Apothecaries.

and

and satisfie the lusts and hunger of many: or as the stewarde in the hall of a great prince, which giueth meate and drinke at the commaundement of his maister vnto the whole familye, according vnto the diuersitie of office, age, and dignitie: Wherefore the monie which he receiueth, let him account not a gaine, but a consideration of his charge and labour. For they that hunte after gaine, are not woont to followe iust dealing, but couetousnes, nor the health of their Citizens care they for, but regarde their own vnfillable greedinesse. Such as are those petty Phisitions, that roge about the countrey, and to the killing of many a man: these Experimenter Iewes, Paracelcists, Alchimistes, iolly braue fellowes, that is bragginge and vaine boastinges, Thessalian witches and Sorcerers, men (a certaine fewe excepted) lewd and wicked, which doe not onely confound and corrupt the end of a most notable and diuine arte (for so is the aunciente and olde Phisicke called by S. Paule) but also doe miserablye defile and marre the rules thereof, and that whiche is more shamefull then these, with manifest iuggleries diffame it: whom godly and learned Phisitions doe worthyly lament and dislike, that through

Very Phisitions and Experimenters roging vp & down the countrey.

the

the too much fauour of Princes and Magistrates they are suffered. For when as Phisicke is an arte fet from the moste inner secretes and closets of nature, and seeketh her causes and principles in naturall philosophy, which is known to few Princes: Moreouer, when as these Rudesibies and ignorant doltes, or at least wise cosining runnagates amisse instructed, commended oftentimes by the letters testimoniall of many, are woonte no lesse shamelesly, then boldly to vaunte themselues and their wares: The Magistrates that are by nature somwhat too mild, are soone deceaued, especially dryuē by some notable necessitie: so that they giue both hearing and entertainment to suche lewde losels, which thing notwithstāding, if they would deale wisely, they ought not to doe, nor should so rashly commend such vnhonest persons with their honest testimonies. For it is a wonder to see, howe with these sealed titles and writings, the common people, yea and they them selues are besotted, puffed vp in pride, and shamefullye deceaue manye others. Would to God therfore, which thing al good Phisitions wishe for, there might be some open examination and punishment, to punish this their deadlye boasting, or at least

An vsuall thing in many places, which I haue seene often in Germany.

wise to bring it downe, that they should not dare so easily to giue out them selues falsly for phisitions, & forthwith to practise so high an arte: I wold it might be by law forbidde, ỹ any man should giue to any to drinke, medicines, especially such as serue for purging, vnlesse he be allowed by publike authoritie: Good God, of how manye deceites, of howe many errors, of how many daungers, that I say not priuie murthers, should mankinde be delyuered? I would to God, I say, we might once see that day, in which this foule and filthy stable might be cleansed: To the great benefit of the common wealth they are punished, which set to sale naught wares: they are punished which sel bad fish, or flesh: moreouer, not so much as a coblar in any kind of handy craft is admitted publikly to practize his arte, vnlesse hauing serued a certain time as appr̃etize, he can approue himself vnto his M. and are they to be let go scot free, who at their pleasure, in sõe secret stable or dodging alehouse, wher ỹ host is a baud, & the M. an harlot, the man a lecher, deal w̃ those things wherein consisteth the publike and priuate health, or els being decayed, is restored, & do al things deceitfully, betray & set to spoyle ỹ health of men rashly and ignorantly, and (to speake in a word) with haynous trecherie in

stee

steed of life do minister death: What plague can happen vnto a cõmon wealth more plague then this one plague? But I cease with more words to inueigh against this rake hel Rabble: because there is good hope, that our preseruers, which we make, in so heauy an estate of things, wher other wise many things vse to be don rashly, wil not deal loosely, nor by any meanes handle ỹ matter so, but ỹ they wil course away lustily these harmfull Rascals, & greedy cormorants, & that those their phisitiõs, whõ with due aduise the haue once receiued, whõ they haue had cõmended by honest testimonies, whom they haue gottẽ by ỹ grace of god, as men indued w̃ virtue, faithfulnes, tẽperãcie, & godlines, with knowledg in learning, ỹ same they wil curteously entertein, vse & maintain w̃ al kind of fauour. Last of al, it shal not be lawful for these to go to any other diseased persons, then those, which are sick of the plague: which also is to be determined (ỹ al occasiõ of infectiõ may euery wher be auoyded) concerning other officers publikly hyred for this purpose. For whẽ as it may so fal out, ỹ they may carry with them in their garments the infected ayre, who yet by reasõ of the strong state of their nature, or medicins preseruatiue, which they haue takẽ or for ỹ they haue now a good seasõ bin vsed

Marcil. Flcin de Epid. cap. 2.

vnto suche an ayer, it doe not infecte them selues, yet being brought vnto such as haue not bin accustomed vnto the same, or as are already weake with sickneſſe, and in daunger of euery iniury, may easily hurte them, what folly (I pray you) wer it, to draw from him poyson, of whom you looke for remedy? & what poiſõ? Namly such as receiued only by breath, or, ỹ which is more wonderful by the only transpiration or breathing through of the arteries and veines, doeth sometimes bring present daunger vnto an whole family, and sometimes vnto a whole Citie and Countrey. For it can scarse be tolde, howe greatly the corruption of the ayre about vs, and howe faste the poysoned qualitie dooth cleaue vnto garmentes, and chiefly wollen, and how the breath in fetching the wind doth infect, and as it were with a secrete flame set on fire the veines and arteries, being the instrumentes of life. And let these thinges thus farre haue beene spoken of the Phisitions of the body. Let vs hereafter go forward vnto the ministers of the Church, who haue the charge of soules.

Of the Miniſters of the Church. Cap. 5.

THoſe now beeing choſen and allowed, which haue the charge of the bodye, hereafter prouiſion muſt be made for ſpiritual miniſters, who may inſtruct the ſicke in fayth towardes God, and comfort them vp with hope of ſaluation, & take care of their ſoules, whome the preſeruers ſhall ſo chooſe in euerye Pariſhe, that they take not to ſo weightie a matter, whoſoeuer commeth firſt to hand, but ſuch as they ſhal haue knowen to bee ſingularlye giuen vnto godlines, holines, ſobrietie, and chaſtity. For they that hitherto haue had no care of true godlynes, cannot profitably exhort any man thereunto. And the vntemperate will beeſtowe moſt of the time vpon their cups, and wil be vnprofitable vnto them ſelues, much more vnto others: eſpecially ſeeing this opinion is ſetled in the heartes of many, ỳ they thinke drunkennes and plenty of wine to be a notable remedy againſt this ſickneſs. As for the incontinent, there will be great peril, when as in theſe times many occaſions of

sinning are offred, and that without punish-
ment, least they commit some such haynous
wickednes, for the which God being rather
prouoked, increase ẏ punishmẽt, thẽ knoing
it, keepe the same away. And further, they
must not be couetous: For in this state of
things, no otherwise thẽ in war, or burnings
of houses, many things lie opẽ vnto ẏ spoile:
for which kind of fact I sawe fiue hanged at
Padway, in the yeere 1556, after whose ex-
ecution the sickness in short time ceased, as if
the wrath of God through the punishment of
so lewd a part had bin asswaged. They must
besids be vpright men, couragious, indued w̃
meane learning, but not with mean charitie:
let thẽ be wary, not rash, & let them consider
that they haue euery day death before theyr
eyes. Wherfore let them put their hope and
trust in God alone, & look for at his hands,
rather an heauenly then an earthly reward
of their labours.

Fiue hanged at Padway.

But if peraduenture there can no suche
be founde among the ordinarye Ministers,
out of the rest of ẏ people there must be chosẽ
such, which come vnto the next degrees of ẏ
foresaid virtues. For in this miserable time
ẏ things of most perfection come not alwais
to be had. Therfore, as they say, As we can,
when as we would, we may not.

When

When such at length are chosen, whom the Preseruers shal haue iudged meete and sufficient for euery parish, it maye not by anye meanes be suffered, that they go to any other then such as being taken with the plague, require their helpe. For I haue said before, and say stil, that not only the outward and cõmon infectious ayre, but also contagious breaths and infectious breathinges, or blowinges, which are gathered, & afterwards imparted to ẏ hole: & others that are sicke by the keepers, by such as sit by thẽ, by the ministers of the church going hither & thither, & stãding by the infected, yea many times also by them that are dead, ought specially to be auoided. Which thing, when as by dayly experience we are taught, & haue proued also vnto vs to be true, by al meanes we haue to take heede, least that we leaue the cause of this so great a disease in others, whom with al diligence we haue, for feare of infection put a parte. Hereunto you may add, which we haue oftẽtimes no lesse experience of, ẏ many sick persons also (I speak not of such as are infected wᵗ the plague) albeit they be not infected with the company of such ministers, yet they will neuertheless refuse their presence for feare of the infection. Wherupon also this inconuenience wil arise, ẏ they had rather receiue

neuer so simple comfort at the handes, either of some of their owne housholde, who for the most parte are vnmeete for this purpose, or els dye alone, then to vndergo a dubble mischiefe, or receiue the vsuall Sacramentes of ỹ Church. Which thing, whether otherwise it be godly, or not godly doone, albeit it be not greatly material here to discusse, yet vpõ ỹ occasiõ offered, I wil set down certein reasons on both sides, wherby the students in diuinity may be stirred vp to examin ỹ reason of this knowen practise of our elders, & how farre it may be allowed, & is needefull for the sick persons, they themselues may iudge least any man might think ỹ I wold foreiudge or prescribe the skilful & learned Diuines.

Of priuate receiuing of the Lords supper.

1 Reasons of thẽ that deny it.

They therfore which hold, that ỹ priuate receiuinge of the Lordes Supper maye or ought to be left vndon of the sick, giue counsaile, that whatsoeuer such rites ought to be done, be done in time, and in the publike assembly, that in that same extreame necessity there be no neede of this carefulnes, whiche they say proceedeth partly from ỹ ignorance of the common people, partly of distrust, and not to be without suspition of a kinde of superstition. Secondly, when as amõgst other things, the Supper is as it were a certaine ioyful and solemne confession and calling to

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remembrance of the death and benefites of Christe, that it cannot conueniently & comely bee done of suche as are halfe dead, and stroken with the feare of death. Thirdly albeit they doubte not that it was ordeined for the strengthening of faith: yet that there are remaining other remedies for suche as are in this case: namely, the preaching of the worde, of the which there is the like power and like effect, which is of the Sacraments. Fourthly, when as the Churche many times is vncertaine of ỹ repentance & tryall of the sicke, especially such as are taken with this deadly disease, when as shee knoweth not, whether they bee moued hereunto rather through feare of death, or truste in the worke done (as they tearme it) or custome rather then of a right mind which reason also in som place is obserued as touching malefactours or euill doers) they thinke it with more safetie to be left vndone, then to bee giuen. For albeit euery man is not bounden to examine others, but themselues, according vnto the counsaile of the Apostle: yet that the church ought to do nothing rashly, but to haue diligent regard, what, who, with what fellowes, wherefore, howe, when the Sacraments are to bee ministred, least

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thee cast roses and pearles vnto swine, and giue that which is holie vnto dogges. Fiftly, that alwaies the receiuers thēselues are not this way benefited, but that many times damnation is ministred vnto them in steede of saluation, and iudgement in steed of life, not onely the Apostle himself being witnes, but also Hyppocrates himselfe, who hath said of vnholesome or vncleane bodies, that the more they are nourished, the more they are hurt. Which Plato and Galen in like maner affirme of vncleane soules, vnto which if you offer holsome and nourishable speeches: that is, admonish them of vertues or vices, they ware not onely not the better, but also the worse. Wherefore wise Phisitions, when as they doubt of a disease, or of strēgth of the sick body, & therfore what will be ẏ issue, they are wont to folow ẏ more safe & easie medicines, & not suche as may bring into danger. Lastly, they say ẏ not so much as the forme, which giueth vnto euery thing his beeing, is obserued and kept in that priuate ministration vnto the sicke. For Christe vnto his Apostles, that is, vnto the Church present, and gathered in one, and not to one particuler person, deuided the Supper, and said not take, but take yee: nor eate, but

eate

eate yee: Finally, not drinke, but drinke yee: wherefore S. Paule in rehearsing the ordinance of Christe, badde not euerie man to eate his owne Supper, but one to tarry for another, that it might truly bee called a Communion, and that by the breaking and partaking of one loafe, might bee shewed a liuely growing together in charitie to bee made, and also an incorporation into Christ, and our neighbours and the receiuers present. And these thinges are so liked of the one side, that they woulde neuer haue this sacrament ministred to any, but in the publike assembly. For whereas it seemeth vnto some, that as the worde may bee preached euery where, and set foorth to men alone either sicke or whole: so also this Sacramẽt of our Communion, may priuately bee rightlie ministred vnto one, they think that the comparison is not alike. For that euery kinde of ministerie hath his maner & forme as it were, without the which they cannot be the thing that they are called, albeit all thinges tende vnto the same end. What that properly it is no part of the ministerie, vnto sicke men, or vnto others priuately without the publike assemblie to haue the woorde read, preached, and with the same, others to be admonished, instructed, and comforted.

For

For that this may bee done of any, and so is wont to bee, yea euen of women, vnto whome notwithstanding the publike ministerie is not permitted, wherefore they think that here is a dislikelihood, and that theyr cause as yet standeth: namely, that the receiuing of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper ought not to be priuate, but publike, and common vnto many.

The reasons of them that maintaine priuate receiuing.

On the contrary side, others contende that this vse and custome of priuate receiuing of the Supper of the Lorde ought to be reteined, if not at all times, yet at leastwise, when the whole congregation receiueth it in the Church. For albeit Christ (say they) peraduenture did it not, as who helde the Supper only once with his Apostles, heereof yet it followeth not, either that it is not lawful, or that the Apostles and the Church which followed them, did it not. For such as were absent might be letted vpon lawfull causes, as by sickneſſe, or age, or other occasions, so that they could not resort vnto the publike assemblie. Hereupon the olde fathers of the true primatiue Churche, vsed to imparte it as well to suche kinde of persons being in health, as to those ỳ were sick, to the one as the cognizance, and badge

of

of peace and agreement of faith, and to the other as a paſport to them that were going away. For when as the Church is as it were one vnited and whole bodie, and that Supper appointed for the whol Church, there is no cauſe (they ſay) why ſhee may lawfully denie it vnto ſome certaine members being abſent, vpon ſome ceraine lets. And wheras it is ſaide that the Churche is vncertaine of the faith and minde of ſuche perſons, albeit this peraduenture may haue place in thoſe whom it is manifeſt to haue led a looſe and lewde life before, & in ſuch as are vnknowne vnto the Church: yet this principle oughte to be reteined, which hytherto hath byn vſed: The Church doth not iudge of things ẏ are hidden, and whoſoeuer doe confeſſe with vs with one conſent Chriſt, and in plaine words acknowledge that they repent of their ſins, being by Baptiſme ingrafted into the common bodie of the outwarde congregation, that of theſe wee ought to hope well, and to make them partakers of the outward benefites of the Church. For (ſay they) ther is not ſo great danger, as ſeemeth vnto others for to bee, and that here there is no more poyſon giuen in ſteede of medicine vnto them that craue it, thē there is to thoſe that are in body

well

bodie present, and gathered together in the congregatiõ. And that we must not so much regarde vnto whom it is giuen (so that they be not open enemies of religion, or by force of the disease driuen out of their wittes) then what is giuen. For that the chief end of this Sacrament is, that Christe should assure vs, yea, & make vs partakers of his promise, & benefites purchased w̃ his own blood (which on ẏ high altar of our redemption he shed to set men at libertie) ẏ he should arme vs with faith & hope, knit Christiãs together with the bond of mutuall loue, & enflame thẽ as it were with a certain fire of loue. Moreouer, whẽ as ẏ sacraments are a part of the word, & as it were certain visible words, the which also according vnto ẏ mind of others, bring no other thing, thẽ the word it selfe preached & heard, albeit they doe it by another meane, they say there is no cause why sufficient, wherefore wee should more withhold them then this from any man, who thus farre, as concerneth outward conuersation, haue byn our brethren: for who can iudge the hart, but God alone? If they haue heretofore liued somwhat more at large, may it not be that either a short admonition of the minister, or a litle breathing of the holy Ghost, may rayse

vp

vp in them some small sparke, the which by all meanes to cherish, so as it be not against godlines, shall not be vnprofitable? Howe I pray you cā it chose but be against ẏ wisdom of a Christiā, to depriue them frō thanks geuing & remēbrance of the Lords death, who in their heart feele thēselues to be moued to celebrate & keepe the same with the church, that is, with their body, albeit in situation of place absent therfrō, wold declare thēselues to be a member therof, & to be short, are desirous to testifie before others, ẏ they are displeased w their former life: Last of al, these leane so far to this opinion, ẏ they thinke the supper of ẏ Lord to be no where more rightly ministred, thē among the sick. For here is in deede reteined the true forme thereof, in the which it was first instituted: namely, at the point of death, or vpō some other vrgent & great perill, some sharp admonitiō going before. And to be brief, a liuelie faith, hope of saluation, earnest prayers, & an ardent mind folowing: ẏ is, altogether earnestly. Which cōsideration hath so far liked some, that they haue thoght ẏ there could be not better reformation of the masse, ẏ is of ẏ abused supper of the Lord, thē to haue it made by this rule.

These things I minded to say here by the way, the which albeit they do but smally appertain

pertaine hereunto, and haue beene spoken as it were besides the cause, and that I my selfe leaue the matter in suspence to bee determined by my masters the Diuines and Gouernours of the Churche: yet heereof woulde I haue our diseased people to be admonished, that touching this matter they quiet themselues, and bee not troubled in minde, if happily either through the crueltie of sickneſſe, or for other causes, they cannot at that time bee partakers of this Sacrament, as cõcerning the outward ceremonie. For if the Heathen Poet haue iudged it sufficient, so farre as able thou shalt bee, the immortall Gods to serue: why should not rather wee Christians, who by the sonne of God are deliuered from all bondage, perswade our selues the same, and beleeue that God, who searcheth the heartes and reynes, and requireth not so much the fact, as the mind, will as well be present with vs by his spirite, as if in the very deede we had fulfilled all the Ceremonie? For this is that spirituall eating or Communion, which our Elders also beleeued to bee done in minde, and faith, and to make vs no lesse partakers of the body of Christe bringing saluation, then they are which vse the outwarde ceremonie

mony: if so be we can say with a constant and stedfast faith: Lord, I am not worthie that thou shouldest enter vnder the roofe of my house, but onelie say the worde, and my soule shalbee hole. The Lord himself in John saith, I stood before the doore & knocked, if a man heare my voyce, & open the doore, I wil come in vnto him, & will suppe with him, and he with me, &c. And S. Augustine biddeth vs beleeue, and saith, that in beleeuing we haue eaten. Also in another place he saith, He that is in the vnitie of Christ his body, that is, in the ioyning of the members of Christiās, the Sacrament of the which bodie, the faithfull receiuers are woont to take at the altar, he indeede is to be said to eate the bodie of Christ, and to drinke his blood. Let Christians therefore perswade themselues of this, if they cannot by lawful meanes be partakers of the earthly part of the Sacramēts, that the heauenly may abundantly suffice, the which at any time by faith to receiue is no hard matter. The same also I dare pronoūce of the comforting and strengthening, which by the ministers of the Church is wont to be made vnto the sicke, that it is sufficient, whē as it cannot be had otherwise, if they be vsed

De ciuit. dei. lib. 21. ca. 25.

By Altar he meaneth the Table of the Communion.

by priuate persons. Whiche thing that it is not diligently done, the cause is in the shamefull slouthfulnesse of the common sorte of Christians, who alwayes learne, and neuer come vnto the knowledge of the trueth. For many so carelesly heare the publike sermons, that they bringe not so muche profite from thence, as that in the extreame necessitie of sicknesse or death, they can bee able in anie point according to the wil of God to instruct, or with godlie consolations to strengthen either themselues, or their houshold, who truelie ought to know this, that as it is not lawfull for schollers in the schoole to bee idle hearers: so also that it becommeth them not to come vnto the Churche as it were to beholde some playe of runners aboute the Countrie, but as it were vnto that place, whereas both Christe himselfe the sonne of GOD sitteth as ruler, and the angelles marke the hearers, within a little while after as it were to take an account of euerye one, of the fruites of their diligence, and seuerelye to punishe the negligent. I praye you, if wee sawe these thinges with our eyes, woulde wee not promise to deale earnestlie and diligentlie, and in no case negligently and carelesly? In the liues of the

A cammon fault.

A Tale.

fa-

fathers wee reade, that a certayne religious manne, when as hee diligently marked the Monkes according to their manner singing, that hee sawe the euill spirits to creepe into some of their throates, and to prouoke them to coughing, and to slyde into the noses of others, and make them to neese, to enter into others eares and pull them, to shutte vppe the eyes of others, and to cause them to sleepe. Whiche thinges although they be fabulous or but a tale, yet they plainlie signifie, that our rechlesse negligence, and slouthfulnesse commeth from the Diuell the Father of lazinesse and slouth, and that it is wicked carelesnesse. But heereof more then peraduenture I ought. Wherefore, nowe I returne vnto the matter in hand.

Of

Of order to bee appoynted among the Citizens, and of leauing of publike meetinges and assemblies.

Cap. 6.

THere must also an order bee set downe amonge the Citizens, to auoyde publike assēblies, games, feastes, drinkings, marriages, dauncings, fayers, schooles, churches, & publike bathes. For besides that in many of these there is greate offence committed not onelie against the bodie, but also against the soule, there is also no small daunger of getting and scattering the infection. Wherfore, wise men giue counsel, that at such times we should very seldome come into great companies of men. For there is no man so vnskilful but he knoweth, that where as al thinges are done without consideration as it were in a mingle mangle, ẏ there the infection is spred farthest, and infecteth manie. As whē the tauernes & typling houses, whither they go to drink, are opē vnto al daylie, ẏ market also, ẏ shambles, publike places also in which linnē is washed, and diuers sortes of people are wont

wont to be mixed together, are haunted. In this case therfore lawes must be made by the preseruers, whereby such meetinges may be forbidden, or els seuered into diuers places and times.

And first concerning Churchmeetinges, this counsel is to be giuen, that they come not by heapes, or by thronges, neither in, nor goe out, and that they flocke not by great nũbers into one Church, where they shalbe driuen to sit streightly and neere together, especiall in one Citie: whereas there are more places fit for this purpose, in the whiche the diuine seruice, that is, the expounding of the woorde of God, and administration of the Sacraments may be done. For albeit these thinges may peraduenture seem vnto some to be but smal, and of little importance, yet nothing is to be omitted, which by any meanes may make for the turning away of the infection. And that which Cicero saide, that when as wee ought to doe for the benefite of men, and do seruice to the felowship of mankind, nothing is to be kept close, whatsoeuer commodity or store we haue, the same especially ought to haue place at this time.

Of order to be kept in the church.

If marriages be to be made (albeit whom can these contractes like in such an estate of

Of marriages.

thinges, in whiche if at anie time elſe, the counſayle of the Apoſtle ought to preuayle, that for the preſent neceſſitie it were better to remayne ſingle) let them bee kepte with a verie ſmall number of perſons, and without all pompe. As for drunkenneſſe and gormandize, dauncinges, and other not neceſſarie or rather daungerous and hurtefull ceremonies and faſhions, whiche for the moſte parte are woont to bee vſed: let them be ſent packing farre awaye, leaſt (as it is in the Prouerbe) this ſweete meate haue ſower ſawce, and leaſt they bewayle the nexte daye the ouerſight committed the daye before. But chiefly drunkenneſſe is ſuche a vice, which doeth not onelye greatlye offende God, where it is leſte vnpuniſhed, but alſo draweth with it other moſt horrible ſinnes, as blaſphemie, periuries, bawdries, wronges, murthers, inceſts, adulteries, fornications (al which for the moſt part are wont to iſſue out of ỳ vgly ſerpent, & do prouoke the wrath of God againſt ỳ whole nation,) I wil not ſay, ỳ thoſe which daily vſe this cuſtomable glutting & quaffing, are more ſubiect to this ſickneſs, & harder to bee cured. Hiſtories repoꝛt of Socrates, for ỳ he liued tẽperatly, ỳ he alwaies was of ſound health, although he liued in many great plagues, which raigned at Athẽs. For (as Ariſtotle & Galen

Tob. 2.
Amos 8.
1. Mach. 1.
Prou. 14.

Marcil. Fic. de Epidem. cap. 24.

say) there is such a constitution in sounde bodies, ỳ they seldom be infected with ỳ plague, or if they be, yet they die not. On ỳ other side, it is manifest by ỳ exãples of many newly takẽ with the plague, ỳ whẽ as they haue plentifully filled thẽselues with wine, they haue comen into great dãger, & miserable present death. For in this case, if at any time els, the counsell of Galé is most profitable, where he saith, that the body must be pure & sound winded. Wherfore, it is not only ỳ duty of ỳ magistrate, to make a law & set a sharp punishment against such gluttõs, but they thẽselues also, if they wil seeme Christiãs, & not rather altogether Pagãs, must take heed, ỳ they run not into ỳ sharp saying of S. Paule, in which is pronounced, ỳ drũkards shalbe shut out frõ ỳ kingdõ of God, & let thẽ remẽber alwaies ỳ cõmandement of Christ, where he saith: Take heed that your bodies be not ouerloden with surfetting & drũkennes. Which commãdemẽt they which so carelesly dare set thẽselues against, & stir vp others vnto ỳ like riot, I cãnot iudge how they shold not be plain Antichristes. For what is more Antichristian, thẽ directly to cast off ỳ cõmãdemẽt of christ: & to cõmand ỳ which Christ forbiddeth: But I will not heere more largely rake vp this

Leonar. Fuchs. de medic. mor. li. 4. Alex. Aphr. 1. Prob, 83.

Detestation of drunkennesse.

puddle, when as such offences ought not so much to be kept vnder with arguments as by lawes.

Of dauncinges. As for these daunsings & friskings, which are wont to be vsed so vnseasonably, to wit, straight after meate & the table taken away (for thus haue many perswaded themselues, if no man wil dance that is sober, except it be a mad mã, that they deale very wisely, if they doe it when they be drunke, that is stuffed and crammed till they are like to burst againe, with wine and meate) these are to none more hurtful thẽ vnto ẏ dauncers thẽselues, namely, gathering together aboundance of rawe humors, which oftentimes doe quickly engẽder great rottennesse, and obstructions, or stoppings of the veines, whereof are woont to growe hurtfull and pestilent feuers. And hereof saieth Leonarth Fuchsius a most excellent Phisition of our countrey of Germany, that he by experiẽce hath tried, that many whilest they were in dauncing, were infected with this plague and died.

Of publike bathes. Further I saide also that publike bathes were for many causes to be auoyded, whiche in such a time is as it were a present & deadly poyson: for that many and diuers sorts of mẽ one with an other vse to be gathered together

in

in that same vaporous or reeky ayer: of the whiche some not long before were infected with this disease, and now by sweating wold emptie out the remnants of the same: others being annoynted with sundry medicines and preseruatiues, of the which euery one bringeth his seueral filth, and infectious breaths, wherewith they fill that same ayer shut in, the which ayer receiued by those which are there present, & haue their bodies now rarified or made thinne through the heate, is very easily drawen in by the mouth and nostrels, and also by the pores or smal holes of the skin being opened, and many times beeing carried vnto the heart or brayne, or liuer by the arteryes and vaynes, may very speedily corrupt with infection.

Now concerning houses of learning and schooles, in which children come together, what shal I say els, then that it seemeth very conuenient, and in manner necessarie, if wee will auoyd the spreading of the infection, that those which cannot bee brought vnto a place more commodious, be for a time shut vp, and that the youth be rather taught at home, albeit with neuer so small profit, and giue themselues to priuate readinges, then with so great daunger by heapes to come together. Of schooles.

For the age of children and laddes, as being giuen to feeding, intemperate, tender, thin, vnwary, is wont to be more subiect vnto this sickues, then it that is elder & of more yeeres. Wherefore, Rhases the chiefe of the Arabiã Phisitions, and after him Franciscus Valleriola Phisition of Arles, geue counsell that Infantes and children bee with speede remoued frõ infectious places into an other countrey, where they neede feare no danger of infection.

Of yeerely faires.

The like may bee iudged of common and yeerelie faires, also of funerals or burials, whereof in their place shalbe intreated more at large.

Unto this Chapter, let the Preseruers adde this, and earnestly aduise vppon it with all the Magistrates, namely, whether it were better for certayne poore people, whiche gee their liuing by begging from doore to doore, and by reason of their needie life feeding on euerie thing, are more in daunger of this disease then others, goe vnto, and runne about all streetes, & chiefly such houses where dead corses are, and seeke vnto all men (for cruel necessity driueth them out of their own poore Cottages) let them I say consider, whether it were better to sende them some

whither

whither elſe, or to mainteine them by the common charge at their own houſes ſo long, vntil ỹ ſickneſs ſlack, that by this meanes occaſion may bee taken from them of renning vp & downe, of receiuing, and ſcattering the infection. For it can ſcarſe bee ſaide, howe great and preſent daunger doth hereby grow vnto the whole citie. For which cauſe I haue ſeene in the moſt famous citie of Padway, after this ſame manner meate daylie by the common charge allowed, not onely vnto the poorer ſort, but alſo vnto them of reaſonable wealth, which eyther had been with the ſicke, or were them ſelues infected, that ſo muche the more eaſilie they might bee kepte within their owne walles at home. And it were a thing highlie to bee wiſhed, that not onely in theſe times, in which eſpecially neceſſitie doeth require the ſame, but continuallie and alwayes care were had of all common wealthes, that the poore might bee otherwiſe mainteyned, then by this ſhamefull, and vnto Chriſtians reprochefull, running vppe and downe, by whiche they inure themſelues vnto nothing but idle life, and all kynde of naughtineſſe. Whiche thing that it is not done, I ſee no other let but our owne groſſe negligence. For in our parte of Chriſten-

Of mainteining the poore.

dome,

dome, there is scarse any village so meane, but that it were able in some reasonable sorte to mainteyne their poore, if so be the Magistrates did mind the matter, and that wisedom and order were vsed. The whiche after what manner it might and ought to be, albeeit I haue this good while beene in deuising, yet after I sawe, that the most godlie, and in all kynd of learning the most skilful diuine Andreas Hyperius diligently and sufficientlie to haue set downe the same, there is no neede of my declaration.

The regiment of the poore trãslated by M. Trip a Preacher.

This also in this place I haue thought good to call into counsaile, because that oftentimes there are manye fearefull, manye weake by nature, and vnfitte to doe seruice in the common necessity, whom it were better to liue some where els, that it might be both more commodious for them, and the common wealth also lesse charged, whether it may be ordeyned, to set these at libertie, to get them selues for a time vnto some other place. For although that some either for religion sake, or for shame dare not to leaue their Citie oppressed with common miserie, and will not seeme willing to flie the hande of God: yet if by the aduice of the Magistrate it shall be thought good, and that it be done

for

for the ende whiche I haue saide, I doubte not but that with a good conscience it is lawfull. For this waye it shall come to passe, that the lesse multitude of people there is, so muche the lesse infection there shall bee: and the lesse infection there is, so much lesse dying and more speedye deliueraunce is to bee hoped for. For like as when the rotte is gotten into an heape of Apples, the more lye gathered together, the more it increaseth, and the longer the rotting endureth: so also heere it commeth to passe, that if once the Plague bee crepte into a Citie that is populous, we see the sickenesse dayly to bee increased and cherished a greate while, which thing is not wont in such sorte to happen in a place lesse peopled, if the other thinges whiche wee haue sayde alreadie and meane to say hereafter, be obserued.

Of order which is to be kept in the buying and selling of thinges necessarie.

Cap. 7.

AND thus much of order to bee kepte among the Citizens: hereafter we must see

see concerning the selling and buying of things necessary: that as before care was had of medicines for the body, and of sacrifices & Sacramentes for the soule: so also prouision be made for the Citizens of nourishments, victayles, meate and drinke. For if Diogenianus haue saide truely, that by the thinges wherwith we liue, by the same also we get sicknes, it is a thing doubties greatly material, that not onelie thinges hurtful bee not brought into the citie, but also ỹ things good & profitable should be brought, but with such a Prouiso, that the things ỹ are to be brought in, bee set abroade, and solde with least danger. Heere therefore lawes are to bee made, what kindes of meates may bee lawful to be sold, & what not; also for what price: & lastlie, in what places, and a certayne penaltye by the Preseruers to bee set vppon the offenders.

Th. Taber. de pest. lib. 8.

First therefore must streighely bee forbidden, that none of the countrie or indwellers set to sale, or sell sweete cheries, prunes (except vngary & damask) new grapes, & figges peaches, peares, mellow & sweet apples, melons, pippins, and least of all cucumers, the which (as Galen witnesseth) haue great store of iuice apt to putrifying: Marcil, Ficinus

Coro Bert

permit-

permitteth Gourdes, and Rhazes, who dwelled in Egypte, where there is muche drought, in a season verie hotte graunteth hearbes, and Sommer fruites, suche as are colde and moyst: which is scarse lawfull for vs in this countrey to folow. Secondly, diligent heed must be taken, that no man sel openlie corrupt or il dressed fish & flesshe, amongest which also must be numbred, although it can hardly beforbidde, to presig lāb & veale, which in certaine great cities is wont verye ill to be done: also fish ỳ are not scaly, soft, take in rotte pooles, as eeles, lāpreys, lāpreies, & the fishes called albuli & bustomi. For it cā scarse be told, what apt matter al these doe minister vnto rottēnes. In ỳ steed therfore of al these, are not only to be admitted, but also to be desired, & by ỳ preseruers procured such as are holsom, & ingēder good blood, & may be some let vnto ỳ sicknes growing: as are amōg the sūmer fruits, damask & vngary prunes dried: raysons, & corinthes, sower peaches, & peares which are wont to be laid vp against winter, quinces, bitter almōds, capers, walnuts, sower cheries, & especial Pomgrannats, orāges, limons, and citrons. Among the hearbs are, Lettise, Succorie, Milkethistle, Purslayne, Orach, Spinage, Sperache, Carduus bene-

Meates not to be eaten.

Fish not to be eaten.

Frutes to be eaten.

Hearbes to be eaten.

benedictus, Baume, Sorrel, Burrage, Burnet, Rue, Betony, Rosemarie, Sage, Isop, Cheruil, Parsley, Fenell, and such like. The which when as all men haue not, neither can haue, it shall not be vnprofitable, to buy them daylie of the Gardiners, that bringe them to market. Fishes whiche at that time may bee eaten (albeeit euery countrey maye measure this accordyng vnto the nature of ẏ place, for all landes bring not foorth all thinges) shalbe chiefly such as be amongest stonie places or grauelly, as Gougeons, Loches, Pearches, Pickerels, Breames, Crowts, Soles, Sticklebagges, Bleakes, Barbels, Carpes. To teach that these should bee sodde in Vineger, or small wine, albeit it be no smal remedy to preserue health, yet doeth it not pertaine to our present purpose. For heere is set out the duetie of the Magistrate, and not the diet of particular persons. Holesome flesh are, Chickens, Capons, Hennes, Partridges, Pheisantes, Wood doues, Turtles, Pigeons, the Attagen, Thrushes, Starles, Sparrowes, Chaffinches, and all small byrdes that liue in wooddes, bushes and vines: also kids, fat Calues, and of reasonable age, Roes, Hares, Harts, Cunnies, Oxen, Weathers. Neyther are spices altogether to bee ouerpassed,

Fishes to be eaten.

Flesh to bee eaten.

passed, the vse whereof the richer sort (for the poore make hunger and labour a sauce) may vse as preseruatiues in saucing their meats. And they are these, Cynnamom, Saffron, Nutmegs, Mace, Cloues, whole Pepper, for ỹ strẽgth ther of being of a thin light substance, is easily dissolued by seathing, & doth heat ouer much. And thus much concerning meates. Spice to bee eaten.

There must no lesse care be vsed concerning drink, that none at al be suffered, which may in any respect bee a nourishment vnto rottenesse: and again such must be prouided as is holsome, by the counsaile of the Phisitions, according vnto ỹ custom of the place. I woulde not speak any thing vnto the prejudice or forejudging of others: yet can I not allow of all kind of drinkes a like. Manardus a very learned & famous Phisition of our time disliketh all Beere in this sickenesse: but because hee was an Italian, and accustomed only vnto wine (for Italie scarse knoweth our Beere) his iudgement in this point is not greatly to be accounted of. For I dare certainly affirme, that our double and single Bream Beere, & also the Beere of other cities adioyning, is not vnholsom, especially, if it be cleere, well sodden, reasonably

Beere.

hopped, and not to high coulored, for so it may vnie the bodies, and strengthen the powers, cleare the spirites, and after a sort like vnto wine, make glad (as the Psalmist speaketh) the heart of man. Hee that is desirous to know the vertues of euery kind of beere, let him reade the treatises of some writers of this matter, and examine them according to the rule nowe set down, which is applied vnto the state of time, in respect whereof we haue directed this our whole aduice. I haue spoken first of Beere, because this hath the first and chiefe vse with vs: yet in the meane season I denie not, but that wine deserueth especiall commendation, and is farre better then Beere or any other kinde of drinkes, if it bee pure, & not to strong. The chief praise is giuē to white wine, pure, ripe, well smelling, old, austere, rather thē sweet: neither is claret wine disliked of a thin substāce, of reasonable age, & not striking the head. Let the same iudgement be concerning made wines of Wormewood, Cardus Benedictus, Betonie, Sage, Rosemary: but of whom, whē, and in what quantitie these are to bee vsed, perteineth not vnto this place. Thus farre therefore of drinkes and meates: other thinges concerning food, as not necessarie, I purposely passe ouer, least I might seeme

Wine.

scrupulously to deale w̄ euery small matter.

Of the price of things.

For the price of these things, which was the second thing set downe, this only I am to counsaile, that there bee vsed by ỳ preseruers reasonablenesse, not only as Aristotle requireth in the exchange & price of things. and equall vnto the wares, but also such as hath regard vnto the pouertie and abilitie of the chapmen, according vnto the estate of the persõs, & the same in such sort ỳ whilest ỳ one is had care of, the other be not burdened. And because ỳ iudgemẽt in this case is hard, this equitie is to be left vnto the discretion of the sellers, with this caueat & Christian remembrance, ỳ they haue not so much their minds greedily set vpon gain (which in this state of things is in no case seemely) as vppon that saying of ỳ Apostle: Loue seeketh not the things, which are her own. Againe, They that will be rich, fall into tentations: Againe, let no man beguile his brother in bargaining. For what shall it auaile thee so greedilie to scrape together ỳ thing, from which thou oughtest to feare, least thou bee take̅ euery mome̅t? Thou foole (saith Christ vnto ỳ rich mã in ỳ gospel, which here I may say vnto thee, O whosoeuer thou art w̄ in this cõmõ misery hastest after thy priuat lucre)

this night shall thy soule be taken from thee, and then whose shal they be, which thou hast gathered together? Wherefore thus rather we ought to determine with our selues, that we in this world possesse nothing as our owne, but only are stewardes of another man his goods. If we haue gotten any thing to our master with our labor honestly, the labour will end, but the reward remain: but if contrariwise, wee shall haue burdened our neighbour with vnhonest and vnlawful taking, the iniquitie will remain, & the gain haue an end. Besides this, my request is also in this case, that princes & such as haue customes & tolles, would yeld somwhat of their right, vnto these cities & people, which beeing visited with this sicknes, are both ouerladen with their own charges, & also cannot vse their wonted trafficke.

Of places meet for sale.

Lastly, also as touching the place, wherein all things pertaining vnto meat & drinke, are to be sold, some thing must be added. For it seemeth not conuenient, that all thinges should be brought into one market. For so it must needes be, that a mightie multitude of people shoulde come together, & that the sauours of diuers things, many times also filthy & strongly smelling must be mixed together

ther, whiche thing doubtleſſe will giue no ſmall occaſion of rottenneſſe, which, if wee will auoid, the infection muſt with all diligence be ſhunned, as hath been often ſaid alreadie. There muſt therfore be ordeined many places, in ſundrie partes of the citie, wher thoſe thinges muſt be ſet, which pertain vnto foode, and are needfull for euery one. Let there alſo be a ſeuerall market for fleſh and fiſh, for hearbes and fruites, that all diſcommodities, which may ariſe by the mingling together of a multitude of people, and bringing of things ſaleable, may with al diligẽce be auoyded.

Of purging the ayre, cleanſing the ſtreetes, putting away of kine, hogges geeſe, &c.

Chap. 8.

SUch things as concerne meates and drinkes, haue been ſet downe in ỹ chapter next before, wherein, whẽ as we thought good to preſcribe among other things, ſeuerall places for the ſale of ỹ ſame,

that the spreading of the infection might be hindred, and yet neuertheleſſe the rotteunes, wherof oftentimes the ſame taketh not only his beginning, but alſo increaſe, can hardly bee kept from thoſe places, it foloweth by good reaſon, ỳ wee briefly treate of purging the ayre, of cleãſing the ſtreetes, of keeping away kine, hogges, and geeſe, the which doe greatly defile the ſame. For I ſee that al the learned, yea and the common ſort alſo doe holde this: namely, that the cauſes are to be taken away, if wee will take away ỳ effects, which grow of the cauſes: alſo, that the pure ayre doth make much to the ſtrengthning of the ſpirites, and vnto health, ſo that it hath giuen occaſion of a prouerbe: Such ayre, ſuch mind: alſo it is knowen, that nothing doth ſo much diſſolue the powers as ſtench. And becauſe the ſtreetes can not bee kept cleane, nor conſequently ſtench, rottenneſſe, and vnpureneſſe of the ayre to be letted, ſo long as ſuche liuing creatures are ſuffered, which ingender ſtore of ſuch filth, theſe muſt bee put into ſome place without the Citie, which ſeemeth fit for this turne: namely, which is neere the riuer, if it may bee, that their filthie excrements may be purged into

First.

it

ſe, or els that from thence the ſtinking reekes as little infect the Citie as may be. For the doung and excrements of thoſe beaſtes, whi-che I haue ſpoken of, doe more then will be beleeued, infect and weaken the ſpirites and principall members, as the braine the heart, &c.

There is alike fault vnto this, and too abhominable (the which I maruaile to bee ſuffered in worſhipfull Cities, and I ſhame to ſpeake it) that the ſtreetes, and allies, yea and the Church yards alſo, are euerie where in ſome places ſo defiled with ỳ doung of ſhameleſſe Roges and Beggars, that whi-che way ſo euer you turne your ſelfe (with reuerence bee it ſpoken) you will thinke you ſee not a publike and commendable way in the Citie, but a vile and beaſtlye Jakes. The like in maner you may ſay of lye water, wherewith linen clothes and veſſel are waſhed, the which maids are wont commonly to caſte before the dores of the neighbours, when as they cannot abide it at their owne houſes.

Wherefore the Preſeruers muſte doe their indeuour, that when as they haue freed the Citie from theſe beaſts they alſo com-

maund

maunde these filthes to be carried all away, and by lawe decree, that none heereafter do either maintaine or admit any such filthines. The which ỳ it may the better be obserues, there must be made in place fit for that purpose, slies and stables in such maner as hath been said: also publike houses of office, and sinckes vnder grounde, into the which may bee carried all such kind of foule stuffe, whiche places when they begin once to bee ful, let them be couered with lyme, to drinke it vp withall: for the other practise, which is vsed in carrying it out, is not without danger at that time.

Ditches about Cities.

Afterwardes also the Ditches, if there be any within, or without the Citie (for the walles of Cities manie times are wont to bee compassed about with ditches, which often serue the common people in steede of priuies, whilest they carry out into the same, as into some foule hole, all their filth.) Also pondes and standing waters, if from out of them there bee suspition of any euill reekes (as when Flaxe and Hempe, or Tanners skines are steeped in them, or when as houses of offices by vautes vnder the grounde doe emptie their sincks into them) they

they are eyther to bee filled vp with earth, or by trenches to bee let out, and carryed awaye: or finallye, if it maye bee, they are some certaine tymes to bee scowred, by lettinge in some swifte wooke into them. For such many times (as Paulus Aegineta doth witnesse) are causes procuring contagious and infectious ayre. The same do all Phisitions, and manye great Diuines thinke of Churchyardes, of the which somewhat more shal be sayd in the second book. Of Africa wee reade, that it was sometymes infected with a great plague, by reason of a corrupt breath fuminge vp from sea lopsters cast vp on the shore, and there dying. The same witnesseth Alexander Benedictus, to haue happened sometymes after great earthquakes. For (saith he) a filthy vapour lyinge a longe time restinge and moulding vnder the earth, as it were in euerlasting darkenesse, maye infecte the moyst and pure ayre, and bringe newe and euill feuers: Suche as histories recorde were sometymes at Uenice, by meanes whereof all women almost that were great with Child, were delyuered of their Children dead beefore their time, and anone after dyed of the plague, the same yeere.

Li. 1. cap. 49

Alex. Ben. li. 1. de pe. ca. 3

For whereas some layde the cause hereof vppon a Dragon, which laye lurking in those Caues, it was but a tale. It is needlesse to bring hyther moze examples, albeit it might bee doone in great plenty. For experience and reason, two chiefe causes of making thinges to bee beeleeued, doe agree to this opinion. Wherefore the Preseruers must take great heede, leaste, when as they haue vsed other kinds of industrie and payne taking, and leaue beehynde these present breeders of corruption, they lose both their coste, and also their labour.

But heere peraduenture some manne will obiecte vnto mee that common sayeinge: that one poyson is dryuen out with an other, lyke as one nayle with an other: Also the vsage of some Nations, who at such tymes are woont not to keepe or cleanse the places infected from euill and filthy sauours, but to fill and stuffe them. Whereof Alexander Benedictus reciteth a storie of his tyme, woorthye to bee remembred, concerninge the countreye Sarmatia, the whiche also hee thinketh maye

Purging of the ayre.

A straung storie

maye be confirmed by naturall reason.

A certayne noble Merchaunte, (sayeth hee) of Creta, when as hee traded Merchandize in the Countrey of Tauros, and that a moste cruell Pestilence was growne by reason of the corruption of the ayre, by meanes whereof there was no ende of dying, reported, that hee sawe a Physition in that notorious death of menne, a dweller of that place (for the Sarmatians doe inhabite there) who commaunded Dogges to bee kylled, and euerye where to bee cast in the wayes and streets, whiche Dogges beeing swollen vppe and rotten, filled the ayre with a filthy sauour, and that by this remedie the Cittie was straight restored to health. Also that the Sarmatians are woonte often to vse this medicine. *Li. de ge. ca. 6*

For the Dogges putrifying chaunged the nature of the ayre, whiche was onelye hurtefull unto the menne. For sodooth vnlykenesse and discorde of thinges woorke, and one poyson is maystered of an other. Which thinge also one Zoar amonge the latter Arabian Phisitions doth affyrme. *Zoar.*

This

This storie telleth Alexander, the which least anye lasie bones might alleadge in defence of his sloathfulnesse, whilest hee is desirous to auoyde such meanes and labour of cleansing, as wise men doe counsayle: or leaste anye manne shoulde rashlye followe that, which he vnderstandeth not howe it is done, the cause of so vnhearde of, and vnwoonted remedye is to bee sought out. I graunt therefore it to bee true, that one poyson sometymes is driuen out with an other: but when that shall bee done, there must needes bee a manifest or secrete contrarietie of qualities betweene those thinges which dryue out one another. For otherwise the one will not onely flye from the other, but will rather come vnto it, and will bee ioyned and knitte in felloweship more stronglye and neerelye: For concord (saieth Hyppocrates) cleaueth vnto and dwelleth with concord. But things disagreeing doe rebell, fight, and disagree among them selues. It is also commōly said, that like thinges are not onelye preserued with lyke, but also increased and strengthned: as fire vseth to be increased with oyle, (a) Naphta, brimstone, aumber woode: heat with heate: the Ague with rottennesse of humours,

(a) Naphta is a kinde of chauky clay, that burning with fire, the more water is put to it, the greater is the flame.

humours: the Dropsie with drinkinge of water, Choler with the eating of Capons, and the poyson of the plague (as Marcill Ficinus saith) with wooll. And this contrarietie of qualities which I spake of, whē as it proceedeth from an inborne qualitie, which in diuers kindes of thinges is diuers and oftentimes hath manyfolde causes, euen according vnto the nature of the place, constitution of the ayre, temperature and disposition of the subiect or thing it is in, and finallye accordinge vnto the proportion of the poyson and agent cause, it doeth woonderfully varie, and maye rather bee vnderstoode by the falling out of the thing, then by any stedfast reason. What shal we saye then vnto the question put forth? Is this cure done by any manifest qualitie? For the nature of Dogges is dryе, and the rottennesse, wherewith for the moste parte the plague is ioyned, is sayde to bee a corruption in a moyst bodye. Or shall we saye, that the stench of Dogges putrifying is by a certaine secrete qualitie repugnaunt vnto the nature of the plague? Truly, I dare not say so, in asmuch as this cannot be prooued (so farre as I knowe) by the authoritie of anye, but onely by the custome of that country,

trey, and the experience of that soyle agreeable: namelye, that there a certaine singular plague, a singular nature of Dogs, a singular temperature of menne, a singular ayre, and suche other thinges as are in this case required, doe all agree in a certayne singular qualitie, whiche in other partes of the wooylde, in other natures of beastes and menne are not in al poynts so lyke. Which cannot bee doubtefull vnto them, whiche are indued but with reasonable experience of things. For the poyson and infection of the Plague is not after one sorte, in all times and places.

Clementius Clemen. de nat pest.

When also and other kindes of lyuinge creatures doe greatlye differ within themselues.

There is suche a Plague, as in whiche chiefly Fyshes dye, sometymes foure footed beastes, sometymes Byrdes, sometymes Mankinde, and amongest mankinde sometimes Women more then Men, and the younger more then the elder.

Li. 4. de varrer. cap. 4. Scrib. Larg. in pref. de compo. meds.

Hieronimus Cardanus a man moste skilfull in manye thinges, maketh mention of a certaine plague at Basil, with the whiche onelye the Heluetians, and not the Spaniardes, or Italians, or Frenchymen, whiche were

were in the same Citie, were visited, whiche truelye were to bee woondred at woorthyly, vnlesse wee knewe the varietie of thinges to be endlesse, and the greater parte (as Aristotle, the chiefe of Phylosopheis confesseth) to remayn alwayes vnknowne vnto vs. Therefore to conclude this doubte, I thinke that wee ought rather to followe the authoritie of moste famous men, as well olde as newe, whiche haue handled this cause, then the receyued custome of barbarous people of one straunge place, by what experience soeuer, in whiche place also peraduenture the laste doe not agree with the firste in one continuall course.

De anima. Phis.

Wherefore, sithence wee knowe, that a great parte of suche deadlye mischiefe dooth depende on the corrupte, rotten, and infected ayre, and that fire aboue all thinges dooth resiste corruption, let vs rather vse fire, followinge Hippocrates, then these outragious stenches, which maye greatly hurte euen those that are sounde: Let our streetes shyne with fier, let our ayre burne with fire, the goodnesse of whose substance howe great and subtyle it is, reade Albucasis the Arabian Chirurgian in the firste parte of his Chirurgerie, Chapter 1.

The power of fire.

For

Discor. 6. cap. 36. *Plin. nat. hist. 36. cap. vlt.*

For the fire is moste pure, and purifieth all thinges, whereupon Eusebius in his church hystorie doeth witnesse, that the Chaldees in olde tyme did woorshippe it, as a mightye GOD. Water dooth cleanse but the outwarde parte, and cannot washe the inner, because it cannot pearse vnto them: but fier, when as by his force he goeth through all thinges, leaueth nothing vntouched, and when as it is by nature most pure, as hath beene sayde, it dooth also moste speedilye cleanse all thinges. Wherefore, when as at the laste iudgemente Christe shal most fullye purge all the whole worlde, the scripture saieth, that hee will come furnished, not with water, as in the tyme of Noah, but with fier, and finishe so mightie a woorke.

Li. 11. ca. 26

Auicen. de med. cord. tract. 2. ca. 20

For by fire wee see all clowdinesse to bee scattered stronglye, all superfluous moystures to be consumed, ye ayre to be purged, mã his heart to be kindled with gladnesse: to witte, the troublesome and grosse vapours beeing scattered, and strength added vnto the wearyed members: so that it is not sayde commonlye in vaine, that as fier is a singular ornamente of the house, so also it is a commoditie of men to bee wyshed

shed for: in somuch that the Poet doeth not in vaine aske this question: What more profit brings then fire? And I, if I should bee demaunded, what is the chiefest thing in preseruinge a Towne from the infection of the Plague, as bee to him that demaunded, what was the chiefe poynte in an Oratour: the firste, seconde, and thyrde tyme aunswered, action: so I by good right myght aunswere, that the firste, seconde, and thyrde helpe, is fire: beecause that all the best beeing taught by reason and experience haue so set downe. For fire is vnto ayre as a triacle, which dryeth vp his rottennesse.

Moreouer drying vp is the chiefest thing, wherein Galen sayeth, the intention of healing of this sickenesse doeth consiste: when as moystenesse, wherein happeneth rottennesse and corruption, is too much. Aristotle also saieth, that all the Elementes doe putrifie, except fire. Wherefore, when as the ayre hath gathered corruption, (I meane such corruption as commeth of vapours, or breathes myxed together, and drawne out of the earth or the water) which ayre, like as the stomack in mã receyueth al

1. *de diff. feb.* *Metheor. 4 ca. de putred.*

kinde of meate and drinke, so dooth it receiue the fumes and reekes of all thinges, nothing can bee more profitable then fire, which dooth not onelye assume as the ayre, but rather consume all corrupte and rotten vapours. For as that fire, or heate, or rather heating virtue, suche as is in Zedoaria, Baume, Cinamom, Angelica, and manye other suche lyke, cleanseth the naturall spirite of man, and keepeth awaye pryuate infection: so our artificiall fire, of the which wee heere intreate, sheweth forth his vse in the outwarde ayre, and keepeth and driueth awaye the common infection, with singular admiration and profit.

Wherefore leauing that naturall fire vnto Phisitions, who are imployed about ỹ curing of priuat & singular persons, our Preseruers shall haue care hereof, that in tyme causing to be carryed the woode of Iuniper, Oke, Vines, Beach, Cypres, Pine tree, Pitch tree, or also of Willowes, they

Great Fyers.

command great fiers to be daily made euery where in the Cities, but especially where there is daunger presentlye, or else shortelye lyke to be: And they in a manner, after lyke sorte, although dislike fayth, that

in

in tymes paſte the old heathen at certayne ſet times ordayned perfumes, Wax torches, & great fiers, ſolemnly to cleanſe and purg the Townes and Fyelds neere adioyning, both from corruption of the ayre (as I verely ſuppoſe) and alſo from Deuilles, who notwithſtanding, for that they are vſed vnto the fire, it is likly that they are not feared nor hurt with the ſame.

Let them I pray you for GOD ſake followe that moſte excellent Hippocrates, which with his wiſdom (as witneſſeth Thucidides) delyuered Grecia ſometymes from the peſtilence of Aethiopia, and therfore was rewarded with a golden crowne. Alſo Thales, the Philoſopher of Mileſia, who onely by making great fiers deliuered his country Acron from this plague. Let them follow, I ſaye, rather the example of theſe, who for their wiſdome haue gotten euerlaſting praiſe throughout the whole world, then the barbarous and fooliſhe cuſtome of thoſe barbarous people.

Aet. Amid. 2 ſer. 1. cap. 94 tetra. Paul. Aeg. 2. ca. 35.

Of the driuing away, or keping at home of Dogs, Cats, and other tamed housholde beastes, which are wonte to run vp and down.

Cap. 9.

HAuinge in the Chapter afore goinge sette downe a waye to cleanse and purge, whiche I sayde to consiste in remoouing vncleane beastes, in carying awaye the dounge and filth of the streetes, in filling vp, or amending of ditches and pooles: and finallye, in cleansinge of the ayre by fiers, in this place wee must see what maye according to profite and reason bee iudged and sayde of Dogges, Cattes, Goates, and other tame beastes runninge vppe and downe.

Heere therefore straight waye after the beeginninge: I woulde haue a lawe made by the Preseruers, for eyther the driuinge awaye, or killing, or diligent shuttinge vp and keeping at home of such things. Which truely

truelye certaine common Wealthes doe wiselye obserue, so that at certaine times of the yeere, especiallye aboute the heate of the Starre called Syrius, when as the Sonne entreth into the signe called ỳ Lyon, whiche tyme they commonly call the Dogge dayes, they commaund the Dogs to bee kylled, the cause whereof I iudge to bee this: When as the Dogge, (as Galen witnesseth, albeit Gordonius otherwise no yll Authour thinketh him to be melancholyke) is a lyuing creature very hotte, and by nature cholericke, and hath the holes of his hearte verye straight and narrowe, at that tyme when as the heate of the ayre is moste burninge and parchinge, the humours of his heart being inflamed, and bloud aboue measure rysinge vppe, hee easilye runneth madde: wherof afterwardes ensueth great and present daunger, both to men and also vnto other beastes.

Dios. 6. ca. 35

Part. 1. de feb. cap. 17.

Nowe, if the lyke maye bee sayde here, not onely of Dogges, but also of Cattes, and other such lyke, as well tame, as tamed beastes: Namelye, that they may as well as menne take this infectious poyson

The comparing of a mad dog, and a dogge infected with the plague together.

of the Plague, as it were a certaine madnesse, and vnlesse they bee kepte at home, carye it vnto others, they themselues manye tymes remayning without hurt: ought not the same course also to take place in this state of common infection? May, so muche the rather ought it heere to bee of force, and to bee followed, by how muche more the daunger ought to bee feared, not onely of being touched and bytten of them, as when they be madde, but also of the common ayre by them infected, and of powringe and bringing the infection vnto others, whilest they continually runne vp and downe hither and thyther.

Moreouer, that which is woorse then madnesse is heere to bee added: for Dogs infected with the Plague, as when they are sicke of other diseases or harmes, they for the moste parte come home to theyr owne houses, and fawne vppon, and gette them neere vnto them of the house, as hopinge for helpe at theyr handes, or takinge as it were sanctuarye among them, so that after the example of Judas the traitour, they sometyme wrappe their Maister in this daunger, and betraye him:

where-

whereas madde Dogges contrariwise for the moste parte flying as well the knowne, as vnknowne, gette them selues into woodye places, and doe shewe them selues so open enemies, that a man maye beeware of them, and shunne them, and doe seldome assaulte and flye vpon anye other then such as meete them, or sette themselues against them. Againe, such Dogges as are taken with the infection of the plague, oftentimes through the vehemency of the disease hyde them selues into some secrete corner, and there dye priuilye, and beeinge dead, beefore the matter bee knowne, lye sometimes a longe season rotting, and defile the ayre with infectious vapours or breaths, and so not onelye alyue, but also deade, doe verie much hurt, whiche in madde Dogges falleth not out in any such sort. *Dio. 6. ca. 35*

The dog infected with the plague, far worse then the mad dogge.

Lastlye, if you compare together both the kindes of diseases, albeit both of them doe rage with deadlye daunger, yet madnesse is lesse hurtefull, beecause, that for the moste parte it giueth longer tyme of truce, and dooth not so speedilye ouerthrow all the powers of the infected body, and therefore bringeth not so swifte destructiõ as ỹ plague. *Scrib. Larg. de compos. med. Alex. Bẽ. 26 cap. 16. Mathiol. li. epist. 6.*

the plague is so subtyll of fine, pearsinge, vehemente, and finallye so hurtefull and enemilike an infection vnto the vitall spyrite, that it canne passe through what passages of the bodye soeuer, and in a fewe houres take the castle of lyfe, and bringe death. Which thing, sith it is so, if wee thinke madde Dogges to be by all meanes to bee auoyded, it is much more agreeable vnto reason, that Dogges infected with the plague should be auoyed.

How dogs, cats &c. may infect others, and not be hurt themselues,

But one thing peraduenture wil seeme incredyble vnto you, that we haue sayde that Dogges, Cattes, &c. doe remain somtimes vnhurte themselues of the plague, and neuertheleſſe to bringe it vnto others, and to infecte them. The reason whereof to yeelde is no harde thing. For this happeneth by the disposition of the subiect or body that taketh it, in whiche disposition according vnto Aristotle, Galen, Auicen, and other singular Philosophers, the bringing to passe of the thing doth chiefly consist. For when as the subiecte is apte, then the efficient cause, albeeit neuer so weake, can quickly bring forth the effect: like as a smal spark of fire doth quickly fire straw, or brimstone.

As

As againe, when as the efficient cause is strong, then also is it able to subdue the matter, albeit not apt, and to worke vpon it at his pleasure. For albeit Brimstone doeth sooner take fire then wood, and drie wood or cleft into sheuers, sooner then greene or whole wood: yet a burning fire or fornace setteth on flame & consumeth as well great as small, as well greene as drie wood. For ỹ vehement power of ỹ efficient cause, as I haue saide, doeth most speedily dispose and worke vpon the matter put vnder it. Hereupõ Marsill Ficinus a singuler Phisition, & a philosopher, reporteth of a certain plague of his time: namely, in the yeere 1479 in a quarter of Italie called Corregium, that Cattes and Dogs did sundrie times bring the Plague frõ one house into another, they themselues beeing neuer a whit hurt with the infection. The same is affirmed of a certaine other, whiche was infected with the Plague by his horse, of the whiche notwithstanding the horse felt no hurt. All whiche thinges are saide to this end, that it may bee vnderstoode, that the matter ought not to be handeled carelesly, or negligently, that our Preseruers should not thinke and perswade themselues, but that this hurtfull kind of in-

Alex. Aphrod. 1. Proble. 85.

De Epid. cap. 2.

fection is to bee kept away and extinguished or quenched with all their power, all their indeuour, and finally with all care and foresight.

Of not receiuing of trauailers and strangers into the Citie, nor of bringing in of thinges without a testimoniall of the health of that place from whence they come.

Cap. 13.

BVT truely the Preseruers shall in vain altogether with this trauaile and diligence looke vnto their common wealth, if they vse not like wisedome in the receiuing in or shutting out of either men or thinges that come from other places, when as this sicknes is nowe ryfe euerie where, and is at this time in a great part of Germanie. For what shall it auaile to haue remoued the Fylth of our owne places, if wee will receiue againe the corruption from others? For as this is a commendable trauaile of the

the Phisitions, that when as by purging medicines they haue first cleansed the bodies of the sicke, they afterwards wisely take heed, that they gather not againe like superfluities: also that no remnauntes of the disease remaine, the which might cause it to come againe: euen so also this Magistrate of ours (whome in this case we haue said must bee a generall Phisition) must doe his diligence in the vniuersal and common body of the common wealth, and orderly prouide for al, that not so much as the least peece of infection bee receiued or left behinde, whereupon newe wrackes and dangers are to bee feared. For (as the Poet saith) The flame that is not looked vnto, doeth straight againe recouer. And who is ignorant that the Plague (as hath often beene noted alreadie) is a disease very infectious, and not onlie in men and beastes, but also in diuerse thinges, as in cloth, olde yron, wood, vessels, bedsteedles, packes, linnen, wares, houshold stuffe, monie, and most of all in wollen Garments (vnlesse you take meruailous great heede) may lye a long time inclosed, & vpon occasion offered to great destruction far abroad to spread his infection:

Alex. Ben. lib. 1. de pest. cap. 2.

infection: For as a mad dogge carrieth about his poyson oftentimes many daies, yea in the iudgement of some, many monethes sometimes, and also yeeres, before hee feele any hurt, so it is apparant by almost infinit histories, which partly I my selfe, and partly others haue obserued, being Phisitions of credite, that it happeneth also in this disease. For I remember certaine yeeres ago, when as Coloine was visited with a sore plague, that a certain maiden of a worshipful house, with her mother and another of her sisters fled out of the citie, and sought healthy by going aside into another ayre: the which mayden albeit she went out hole, and came into an healthie place, yet within three dayes after she was infected and dyed: wherof there was no other cause, but that ỹ plaguie infection did sticke styll either in the garments of them that fled, or in the open wayes of the skin, or veines not so neere the heart, and did not trouble her, before that it touched the very heart. For it is a light and smal vapour or reeke, which is not at such deadly feede with the other members as with the hearte. For which cause Marsill Ficinus is not afraide to affirme, that it may lie hid in a man sometimes two monethes without hurting them

Gal. 6. de locis affec. cap. 5.

Gordon. de Febr. part. 1. cap. 17.

Alex. Benli. 26. cap. 16.

Leuin. Lem. de occul. nat. mira. cap. 5.

A destripeion of the plague.

them, which if it bee true, as it is very likely, some doe to farre of, and too darkly caste off this cause vpon the influence of Saturne, staying the influence of Mars. And Bern. Cronenburgius, otherwise a most expert Phisition, might haue more plainely and effectually answered certaine prattlers, and of ignorance blaming suche as flie away from places infected with the Plague, then by finding I know not what fault with humors, and vnorderlie diet: by whiche meanes in deede, some Ague or small sickenesse, but very seldome the Plague vseth to grow. For I doe know concerning this mayden, that for the godlinesse of her minde, and singuler knowledge and feare of God, hereunto beeing adioyned the ripenesse of her age, & the especiall care of her mother beyng present principally in such an estate of time, that shee offended a little or nothing at al in her dyet, nor was cumbred with no yll humour. But if this notwithstanding seeme harde to bee credited of a mayden, whose sexe is fleeting, I am able to affirme the same of both the daughter, and also the wife of a most skilfull Phisition, both the which after the same sort, in another place, whither they went aside for safetie sake, were taken with the plague

Clementina Clement. cap de pest.

and

and dyed, whom it is likely, neither by the meanes of vnwarie diet, nor by the nature of the vnholsome place to haue taken there the infection, but to haue carryed it thyther with them. But if yet nowe these things cānot make you fully to beleeue, so that you can allowe that which I say, I will bringe more strong reasons. I remember that Padway a noble Citie of Italie on this side the Alpes (which nowe they call Lonibardie) subiect vnto the dominion of the Venecians, was almost wholy infected by one scholler (whose house was not farre from mine) which came frō Venice infected with the Plague. How fierce, cruel, and strange a Plague ranged at Hamborow a few yeres agoe, & had his beginning by ỹ infection of one mā, which came frō Dansk thither, mē of credite, & Citizens of the same citie haue reported. At length to come vnto our owne home, our common wealth also, through the faulte of one infected person, which was brought from Hamborowe vnto vs sick at the same time, within a very few dayes was infected, so that no streete almost was free from that sickenesse: albeit againe so fewe died therein, that none of all the Sea Cities (when as euerie where they were visited wh

Ann. 1556. A Plague at Padway.

A Plague at Hamburg. *Anno.* 1566.

A Plagne at Breme. 1566.

the

the plague)lost so few men: through the singuler mercie of God no doubt, & the wisdom and trauaile of the Magistrat & Phisitions: which two God himself would haue toyned together, & doth not at all aduenture bestow vpon vs his help without the seruice of mē. This therefore may suffice of the infection scattered & gotten by men. In the whiche wee haue vnderstood this to bee most profitable and necessarie for the common saftie of all, if the common people bee not so rashly (as vsualie is wont to be done) mixed togeather, nor leaue be graunted for euerie man at his pleasure without order or consideration, to goe whither he will.

Concerning the thinges them selues, which being brought out of infected places, haue withall brought the infection, so many examples come to hand, that time and paper will sooner faile mee then examples, if I woulde rehearse but the least part of them. Letting goe therefore the eldest, which by reason of their age purchase the lesse credite at our handes, let vs speake of a fewe at the least, and such as haue happened but a little before our tyme, or els in this selfe same time of ours. There is a storie recited, knowen vnto many, & worth ỹ noting: 1511.

when as

When as Verona in the borders of Italie was besieged by the Emperour Maximilian, there happened a Plague in the campe of the Germanes, so that 2000. or thereaboutes dyed of the same. In this slaughter this was founde out for certaine, that 25. souldiers were infected and died one after another, by meanes of one leather garment. For as one departed, straight way came another, and tooke the garment, as a bootie for him, and put it on. And so farre went on this destruction, vntill that the cause of this death and infection was spied out by the Chirurgeons. Whiche thing being knowen, this leathren pylch which was in deed infectious, was cast into the fire and burnt, and after the punishment thereof, the plague by little and little slaked, and at the length quite ceased. Alexander Benedictus (who liued in the yeere 1493.) maketh report of a certain like matter, which hapned at Venice in these wordes: I heard (saith hee) in the dayes of my father, that in the citie of Venice in the time of the Plague there was a certaine mattres suspected, and cast into the inner part of the house of a certaine commoner of the Citie, and after seuen yeeres sought out againe, which the good

Venice.

wife

wife of the house willed to be dressed vp. For by lying long mustying in a secret corner, it had gotten a greate infection, by meanes whereof, the seruantes were foorthwith taken with a sodaine plague. A storie not dislike vnto this, albeit he had it not first from the partie, was once tolde vnto mee, whiche elsewhere I haue set downe in Dutch, the effect whereof is thus: In the yeere 1564. when as Coloine was sore visited with this sickneſſe of the Plague, a certayne Carrier, who dwelled foure myles from thence, did by chaunce bring certayne wares thither, and agayne brought home with him (alas a most hurtfull reward for his labour) this infection, and in shorte time died of the same. Sixe weekes after (for so long did the poyson keepe in without any harme doyng) died all the children in the same house, and all the seruauntes, the good wife of the house onelie remayning aliue. This beeyng done, the sickneſſe stayed without any hurte almost two whole moneths. But when as al men hoped that all was well, beholde, the widow that was left, did by chaunce giue the shirt of her sonne that was dead vnto ỳ sonne of a poore bodie her neighbour, wherewith the childe being couered in the night, and on

A strange story.

the sodaine infected, died forthwith together with the whole household, ẏ mother again excepted. The which whē after ẏ same manner as before, it had now staied a lōg time, & at ẏ lēgth there came certaine strāgers to dwell with the widow ẏ was left, ẏ plague whiche was thought to be dead, reuiued agayn, & together destroyed thē al, & cōtinued so raging vntil Ianuary, vntil ẏ at the last it also being cōquered w̄ the winter cold, died, not wout ẏ great reioysing of the neighbors. There is another no lesse sorowful example to bee added, which I haue obserued in our Citie of Breme, for a certain smith dying of ẏ plage, his heire of ẏ same occupatiō, being too greedy of ẏ goods ẏ were left, alas together with the houshold stuf, brought both the sicknes & death also into his house. For whē as among other thinges, there was a vessell to bath in, made after ẏ māner of ẏ cōutrey, he with 5. of his familie washed in the same, & the first night they were al infected with the plague, & died. Histories doubtles worthy the noting vnto the which albeit a man shal hardly finde the like, yet this which I my self haue seene, I cānot keepe close, namely, the famous city of Venice, to haue bin almost wholly infected only with vessel & certaine garmentes which were priuily brought thither frō Iustinopo-

Another example.

Plague in vessel,

lis: albeit through the singuler wisdom of the magistrate, & the vnwearied care of all degrees, trusting vnto the help of God, it neyther continued long, nor tooke away many. The like almost happened not many yeers sithens in the countie of Hoyen neere vnto vs, that a womans garment beyng brought in a certayne Village from the Citye of Hamburg, where then the sickenesse was, within a verye shorte time there dyed fiftie: and vnlesse by and by through the grace of God it had bin staied by the labour and wisedome of the rulers, it had doubtles crept further, especially through ỹ rashnes of ỹ poore countrie people, & for want of counsell what to doe. Vnto these I could adde (vnles some man might thinke thē meeter to be suppressed because of the outragiousnesse of the matter, then to be put in story & published) suche thinges as I my selfe haue seene in the citie of Padway, namely, that the infection was wōderfully increased through certain things infected with the pestilēt ayer, being partly cast priuily into other houses ỹ were sound, & partly giuē vnto pōg childrē for gifts. Thē the which fact it is yet more wicked, whiche was told me as I was writing this booke, of a certaine famous city in Germany, namely

Another exam. in a certayne Village from the Citye of Hamburg.

Padway.

that there were certaine layers foorth of the dead, and suche as carrie them to Churche, who beyng eyther hyred of some for money, or through their owne greedie couetousnes, that they might make their profit by the disprofite of others, infected the publike Conduites and Cesternes with the infectious matter which they had taken of the sores of such as were sick of the plague. O haynous fact, cruel, wicked, and in the memorie of man vnheard of. The wicked Sorceresses, whom they commonly call witches, deserue no questiõ a great punishment, albeit in many places too rashly, and sometimes vnlawfully (let me heere say this by the way, for learned men at this day haue throughly canuazed this matter) they vse to be handeled, Moloch casting water of fire vpon them on euery side, who is woont to bee delighted with such sacrifices: but shal these poysoners which infect with the plague, seeme vnto you worthy of lesse punishment?

A wonderful thing.

He seemeth to dislike with certaine others, the putting of witches to death, an opinion whiche by the worde of God cannot bee maintcinted, *quod pace illorum ai-dum velim.*

Wherfore, when as we haue now vnderstood, of how greate weight a thing it is vnto the preseruing of the common wealth, & how necessary a medicine to keepe away infection, that we doe not rashly receiue either men, or thynges of what sorte soeuer, that come

come from infected places, and this so much the more (if we beleeue Cardanus) by how muche those places are more East (for the Plague saieth he, like as other thinges, is wont as it were with the daylie mouing of the heauens to goe from the East into the West) when as I say, these things are thus, our Preseruers must vse such heede taking, that appoynting and ordeining Warders at gates, they receiue no straunger, nor suffer any thinges to be brought in, vnlesse they haue some written testimonial, or sealed, being woorthie credite of not beeing counterfeit. The same also must be obserued in Citizens, if peraduenture (as they are woont to doe, which haue more regard vnto wealth then health: For through Sea, and Lande the merchaunt runneth vnto the Indes, for wealth and gayne) they come home from an other countrey, and from places suspected. For albeit that this neither will be sufficient to take heede, whilest rashe headded persons, and full of prattle wil some times goe about either to deceaue the Porters, or openly to withstand this order as an vnusuall bondage: yet many honest men wil be made the more circumspect, and will consider that our lawes are not perpetuall, but

De rer. var. 15. cap. 17.

Scribō. Larg. de compos. medic. in Præfat.

expoall, which also are made for their healthy sake, and shal last so much the lesse while, by howe much the more sooner and timely they meete with the sickenesse comming, and the more diligently turne it away. For in a common aduersity euerye man ought to put to his helping hand, and to haue more care of it, then if it were a priuate cause.

Obiection. *Hipp. 1. aph. 1. Rom. 12.*

But if any man shall thinke that it is against charitie, for that I holde that men and such as are our brethren, are to be shut out, of the whiche many flie vnto vs as vnto a sanctuarie, as it were from a deadly enimie: vnto him I must make this answere, that I wold haue no man forsakē, or in anie case to be destitute of our helpe, but yet there ought to be a set and stedfast waye and order in vsing of helpe. True charitie beginneth at it selfe, but endeth not in it self alone: But rather it stretcheth out it selfe as farre as it can, to euerie neighbour, and according vnto her power, imparteth her helpe with euery man, and as Ambrose saith of liberalitie, is commended of her faith, cause, place & time. For what a kind of charitie should this be, to receiue one sick sheep into the fold, and to bring the scab vnto the whole flocke? If charitie be a vertue (as no doubt it is a singuler and a diuine ver-

Answeare.

tue)

tue) it cannot be voyde of wisedome, whiche doth as it were giue the shape vnto true vertue, whilest (as it is manifest out of Ambrose) she hath her eye set vppon necessary circumstances, with the which euery vertue is perfected and finished. For albeit charitie haue no end, as it is also vsually saide, true loue can skill no end to haue, yet wil shee not be carried away with rashnes, and as I said euen now, wil not be voyd of wisedome. But after what way and order, I think this duetie of charity to be to bee handled, shall in that which followeth be spokē more at large. Here therefore let be the ende of this firste booke.

Of

Of the duetie of a faithfull and wise magistrate, in preseruing *and deliuering the common wealth from* infection, in the time of the plague or pestilence.

The second Booke.

Of those into whose house the Plague is gotten.

Cap. 1.

THat parte being finished, whiche rather concerneth those whiche are whole, then those which are sick, and therefore may be called a certayn publike preseruatiue, it remaineth that following the practise and order of excellent Phisitions, we treate in the same sort of that part of phisicke which is called Pharmaceutica, that is, of the way to heale and deliuer from sickenesse: if peraduenture eyther immediatly from God, or vpon some o-

ther

ther cause this fierce disease and cruell dragon (as Galen calleth it) haue assaulted the house of any man. And yet let not anie man looke here to haue particuler medicines for euerie priuate man set downe, but ẏ which in this case the faithful and wise Magistrate by publike duety is bound to doe: that a generall way being found out and ordeined, wherby regarde may bee had both of the sicke, and also of those which are conuersant with thē, the whole infection may be the sooner quenched, and bring lesse hurt to the citie.

Wherefore in the time of such sickneſſe raygning and infecting, in the first kynd we haue saide alreadie at the beginning, that we must flie vnto God alone, & craue pardon of him for al our sinnes: in the latter kinds after the calling vpon of God, the preseruers must first of all and foorthwith haue care of this, that the house infected be noted and marked out by certaine signes & tokēs, as by setting of torches before ẏ doore, which after ẏ maner of the Gentiles vse to be caried before the dead, or by clubbes betokening punishment, or rolles of strawe, or hanging vp a blacke, white, or redde sheete, signifyng sickneſſe or death: and with all that the whole housholde be charged, that they venture not to goe

God first to bee called vpon.

The infected house to be marked out by some token.

abroade vnto others, nor to receiue any vnto them, for the space of vi. or vii. weekes at the least, if also in the meane season they haue vsed sufficient cleansing of the house & other things, which shall hereafter expressly be spoken of. If any of his owne accorde shall come in vnto them, let him be bounde by the same charge, but for a shorter time. In the meane season if they haue any thing to doe abroade, they must cause it to be done by others. For there ought greater care to be had of a whole societie and felowship, then of a priuate familie or household,

Obiection. But if any man shal thinke it an vnreasonable and cruell lawe, to haue sounde men shut in so streightly, & for so long time, especially in houses infected with such deadly poison, & woulde also suppose this Prouerbiall chiefe medicine to be better for them. With all speede, farre off, long ere you returne againe: and finally, that it is not conuenient for the sicke thēselues, especially if the house be not commodious, that they should remayn so shut vp, & not sometimes to vse a more free ayre (for al keep not their beddes:) truly they which say this, seeme to say neither nothing, nor al things. For I my selfe thinke it to bee nothing safe, often to vse the companie of the

Answeare.

in-

infected, & dayly to draw the corrupted ayre. Therefore in the Chapter following we wil consider, by what meanes we may find remedie for these streighnesses & discommodities, the which whilest they can bee hurtfull vnto none, they may bee greately profitable vnto many. For to graunt them free libertie to keepe companie among others, should be too rashe and barbarous, and in a manner that which Luther also saith in this case, wee should seeme to follow them whiche woulde put lice into skinnes, or flies into a chamber, or keepe fire in their bosome, sauing that these thinges are lighter then that they may bee compared with this euill. And when as we manifestly finde, that this onely disorder is the cause, that the infection manye times is so speedily and so farre and wide scattered abroade, we must not by any meanes vse the matter so, that through our owne defaulte and negligence wee our selues increase our owne wounds. Not that I denye, the plague sometimes to come by the corruption of the common ayre (which notwithstãding is very rare or seldom, & a thing ỹ many old mẽ haue had no experience of) and foorthwith to take very manie, & scatteringly without infectiõ: neither also that I am ignorant that God beeyng *Luther.*

being angry with our sinnes doth somtimes vse this whip against vs, & to driue vs vnto amendement of life, and to put vs in mynde, of our obedience and seruice towardes him (for this is apparaunt both by prophane & also holy histories) I doe not (I say,) deny this, neither doe I affirme that in this case the remedies of man doe any great good, but we ought to hope wel that these thinges will fall out but seldome, and when they doe fall out, they bewray themselues by very euident and especiall tokens. As it is playne concerning Æthiopia, by the testimonye of Thucydides: also when as God punished the armie of Maximinus, persecuting the Christians, with so great a multitude of thē that died, that the carkases were euery where left vnburied. Which also the histozie of the kings repozteth of the host of Dauid. Who wold denie these thinges: but I say once againe, ỳ these things are seldome seen, & not agreeable vnto the plague of our countries, whose beginning, cause, and pzoceeding, bee that we may many times euidently enough lay downe, therefoze so muche the moze diligence and care ought we to vse, that the euil which through our own fault and blame we haue gotten vnto vs, oz through our slouthfulnes

Eccl. hist. 9. cap. 9.

2. Reg. 24.

fulneſſe receiued, the ſame alſo with like endeuour and trauel we ſhould amende & driue away.

Wherefore, when a houſe is ſo marked, & as it were condemned for an infectious Lepri, ỹ houſhold either of their owne accord and priuate charges, if they be able to pay, or by the perſwaſion and charges of the preſeruers, if they bee poore, muſt by and by ſende for the helpe of the Phiſitions appoynted for that purpoſe, and making their prayers vnto God, not grudgingly, but cheerefully, and with good hope admit them and receiue thē in al thinges that ſhalbe needfull. For it is to be thought, that the benefite which God here in wil ſhew, the ſame oftentimes hee giueth by the Phiſitions as his miniſters, no otherwiſe then the good man of the houſe is wont by his ſtewards to giue and point out meate and drinke vnto his houſhold. For Phiſitiōs and phiſicke are the good creatures of God and his miniſters, the which by the commandement of the Apoſtle we ought to vſe with thankes giuing. The which cauſe (albeeit beſides the cauſe) let it bee lawfull for mee with the good leaue of the reader, becauſe of the vniuſt iudgement of ſome vnlearned perſons somwhat more at large in this place

Eccl. 38. 39.

Leuin. Lem. de lib. Bibl. cap. 1.

Sap. 8. cap. 2.

to

to handle.

For first of all Jesus Syrach, a man amongest the Hebrewes singulerly endued with godlinesse, wisedome, and the knowledge of thinges, and finally with the Spirite of GOD, hath left thus written: Honour the Phisition, for the Lorde created him for necesitie. Phisicke is from the highest, and of the king he shall receiue rewards. The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth, & a wise man doth not despise them. Giue place to the phisition, for the Lord hath created him, thus saith Syrath: what I pray you meaneth in this place this doubled and often repeated word creation? what meaneth his beginning & cõmendation, but that we should vnderstãd ỳ the Phisition & phisicke is the gift of God, the which it is not onely lawfull, but also whõ we ought to vse, whẽ need is, & necessity requireth: and ỳ those doubtles are vnskilful, & very ignorãt of ỳ coũsel of God & blockheades, who doe iudge phisicke to be needles and vnprofitable, when as without al doubt it was giuẽ of God vnto mankind, for the preseruing & repayring of health sake. Hereupõ also the very heathen haue acknowledged the excellẽcy therof, whẽ as they write ỳ not mã

Of the vse and praise of phisick.

Eccle. 38.

Scrib. Larg. de com. med.

but

but God was inuẽter of ẏ ſame. For Apollo whõ they make ẏ Author therof, they worſhipped for a God: and Æſculapius his ſõne, who ſomwhat more finely garniſhed ẏ ſame, becauſe of his ſinguler ſkil in the art at that time they vouchſafed ẏ like honor: & Homer, albeit he maketh no mention of ẏ beginning of phiſick or of phiſitiõs, yet doth he not doubt to renowne it with a moſt excellent cõmendation, when he ſaith: that man which hath in Phiſicke ſkill, the ſame all others farre doth paſſe. Which thing ẏ old romaine emperors acknowledging, did pay yeerly vnto phiſitiõs a very large ſtipẽd, of 205. Seſtertia (as Pliny reporteth) whẽ as they payed vnto ẏ profeſſors of other arts but only an hũdreth: albeit in ẏ times following they were againe by a law made, baniſhed ẏ city. Which was enacted by reaſon of the boldnes of certayne vnſkilful perſons, who did abuſe phiſick. For couetous mẽ ſet on fire and blinded with the hope of gaine, are oftẽ carried headlõg to the aduẽturing of any thing, & ſomtimes refrein not frõ ẏ which is horrible to tel. Who neyther mindful of the oth of Hippocrates, nor of the honour or ſafetie of themſelues or others, range vp & downe like robbers where they bee freelye without puniſhment.

Polyd. de inuent. rer. 1. cap. 20.

Corn. Cel. lib. 1.

Lib. nat. hiſt. 29. cap. 1.

But

But we who being enlighted with the light of the Gospell, ought to esteeme of euerye thing not by the abuse but by the lawful vse, doe in such sort vse it, that we acknowledge it to be giuen not by the counsel of man, but by the benefite of God, for the prolonging of life, so farreas concerneth outwarde helpes and aydes. The iudgement of Luther in a little Dutch booke of the plague, set foorth at Wittenberge in the yeere 1527. is most graue and godlie, and a doctrine fitte for this our businesse in hand: God (saith hee) hath created phisicke, and giuen the minde, that euery man shoulde haue care of his owne bodie, be in health and liue. Who soeuer will not vse these, whē as without the hurt of his neighbour, hee may, the same betrayeth his owne life, and there lacketh little but that before God hee is made a murtherer. For by the same reason hee may despice meate and drinke, rayment and housing, and trusting too much vnto his faith, say, if God will, hee can preserue me without al these things. Then the which follie this is yet greater, that he which after this sorte casteth the care of his bodie, and not seeke that remedie against the plague, which he may,

Luther.

may

may hurt and infect others also through this his negligence, who peraduenture, if hee had suffered himselfe to haue beene looked vnto, had remained vnhurt and aliue. Whereof it commeth to passe that hee getteth vnto himselfe the blame of an other man his death, & committeth murder vnto God. Suche men doe in deede no otherwise, then as if a man in a common fyring. woulde not come and helpe the Citie, but let the fire alone, that the whole Citie might bee burned: namely, vppon this trust. Doubtlesse if God will, hee can without water quenche the fire. But friende, thou oughtest in no case so to deale, nay it is shamefull and vnlawfull, whiche thou perswadest thy selfe: but rather vse remedies and medicines, and doe whatsoeuer any way may helpe, perfume thine house, Orchard, and streete, flie the infected places, and men infected, whereas thy seruice is not required, and so behaue thy selfe as one willing to quenche, and not maintaine the publike flame, &c. For the woordes whiche followe, albeit they bee spoken very finely, yet at this time I purposely passe

them ouer.

Away therefore with this more then barbarous opinion, and Cyclopical or Giant-like stubbornesse, whereby many call and defame Phisicke, as superfluous, or an Arte only to picke mens purses, as they doe all other liberall sciences, yea and philosophie it selfe as a certaine sophistrie, whiche thing Plato also himselfe doth, for fault not of the thinges, but of those persons that professe it.

In Gorgia.

Obiection.

But if any man shall say: if the vse of your Phisicke bee so necessarie, and diuine, as you affirme, wherefore then doth Syrach himselfe, whome you haue cited in the place by you alleadged, bydde the sicke goe vnto God, and to desire health by prayer: Why doth Saint Ignatius a most godly bishop and martyr call, onely Christe the bodily & spirituall Phisition, and in death also (I say not in sickneſſe) the true life: But I will also my selfe giue the aduersaries a weapon which with mee is of no small force: when as I departed out of Italie, Sebastianus Laudus a singuler man, the Reader of Phisicke at Padway, and my master (whom for honour sake I name) for a perpetuall remembrance of his faithfulnesse towards me, wrote

38

Epist. ad Ephes.

Theodor. dialog. 1.

wrote with his owne hand in my booke: Remember that only God doth cure diseases. If then only God, what neede is there of others? Doth God want seruants for to help him? If Christ be the only Phisition, whiche taketh away our griefes, as the Prophet is witnes, and as he himselfe hath testified by so many exeamples in the new Testament, whom shal we need besides? For surely that is done in vaine by more, which may be done by the fewer. And of this iudgement ther are also many found among the Christians, not vnlike vnto the old heretikes called Euchitæ. But I answere, that albeit God needeth not the helpe of any, but rather is the only Phisition, aswel of the bodie as soule, and ẏ we do confesse al health to depend on him, & to be to be craued at his hand: yet nothing letteth, but that the Lord and master may cõmit many things vnto his seruants, & do by their hands, what he wil: like as euery workman vseth tooles, vnto whom notwithstanding the praise of the worke done, properly is neither due, nor ascribed. And I saide before ẏ God will be asked of vs, and without meanes manie tymes will giue nothing vnto vs, ẏ which meanes he hath made for this end, that we should vse them vnto our profit,

Answere.
Esai. 38.
4. Reg. 20.
Tob. 6. 11.
3. Reg. 4.
8. Ioseph. 2.

like

like as Christe himselfe, and holy men of God, when as they could obteine them (for otherwise the grace and power of God is not tyed vnto them) vsed them, and were wont to vse them. Wherefore when as these say that God only cureth diseases, it is to be referred vnto the chiefe cause, which is God, not vnto the instrumental cause, as are men. And Syrach, when as in the beginning hee had commended the instrumentes themselues, and meanes, as it were diuine and healthfull meanes, least happily any man trusting vnto these, shoulde cleaue vnto them as the principall and chiefe causes, and shoulde forget God, in the end of the Chapter, as it were in the vse of these things, hee doeth admonishe vs, that wee haue GOD before our eyes in our whole worke, that wee plye him with praier, and request prosperous successe at his hande. As if hee shoulde say, Phisicke in deede is a diuine and excellent thing, but without the power and grace of God (which power is obteined by onely prayer) it bringeth foorth no happie successe. Whiche was no doubt the meaning also of Herophilus, albeit a prophane, and Heathen Phisition, when as hee saith, That Phisick

Herophilus.

is

is both nothing, and againe, that it is the hande of God: nothing (I say) as I vnderstande it, of it selfe: and the hande of God, ioyned with the grace and power of God, and vsed in season and rightly. Then the which in mine opinion nothing can bee spoken more truely and Christianly. And the selfe same may wee say, if it bee lawfull to compare great thinges with small, of those meanes whiche are set foorth vnto vs vnto the health of the soule by Christe, as these are for the halth of the body. Although some which thinke they can cunninglye blinde the eyes of wise men, or steale fire from Iupiter out of heauē, are wont greatly and wickedly to extenuate or lessen the dignitie of these also, when as with much a doe they can alleadge nothing but the abuse and faultes of the receiuers, and doe only bewray the stinck of the Astrodutiorian and Messalian heretikes.

The sacramēts and medicines are meanes.

Theod. 2. Fabul. haret.

But least any man might thinke that I serue mine owne turne, whilest hee heareth mee so diligently pleading for Phisick, I will not pursue any further the commendation of a thing sufficiently praysed of it selfe, but will ioyne yet one article more vnto this present Chapter, very necessarie

Question.

in my iudgement in this cause. For a man may aske a question, because that so earnestly & diligently I perswade all companying wᵗ the infected with ỳ Plague to be to be auoided, how I thinke those poore women to be to be dealt wal, who in these infected houses, either in health or sickness fal in trauaile, (which thing to haue happened vnto many, & the which for the most part haue dyed, I my selfe can be a liue witnesse) Ought they to bee forsaken of the neighbours? What like vncurtesie in the memorie of man, hath there beene harde of? Here is need of a duble answere. First if any women mooued not with rashnesse, but Christian charitie and loue (the which assuredly wee owe one to an other) will come, let this be done in such order, that afterwards they come not without discretion by and by vnto their household, vnlesse hauing changed their apparrel, and for a certaine time they abstaine from the companie of others. Secondly, that which more appertaineth to our publike purpose. I will haue our preseruers in this case also to keep a certaine order, that they get midwiues and other good honest women, especially the wiues of the ministers of the Church, of the Chirurgeons, Apothecaries, Phisitions, & those

A duble answere.

1 *Eccle. 3. 7. 4. Rom. 12. 13.*

2

those whom wee appoint to carrie foorth & burie the dead, if there shall bee any fit, and will doe the same, for the executing of this charge. There they shall in no case lacke the helpe of womã kind, albeit they haue not alwayes at hand those which they are wont to haue in time of health, after the example of those, which by reason of the Leprie are seperated from the company of men. Let them therefore require no more of others, then they would haue others require of thẽ in this case. For so doth charitie bid, not to seeke the things which are her owne, if it cã not be done without the hurt and danger of our neighbour.

Of building of certaine publike houses, called Plague houses.

Chap. 2.

IPromised in ỳ chapter afore going, ỳ I would set downe a way, whereby such as had rather goe out of the infected houses, or the sick ỳ are desirous to chãge ỳ ayre, may be profitably prouided for. The which, ỳ it may fitly & wisely be done, our Preseruers must

goe about a worke something greater and more chargeable. For I will ẏ two houses large enough, & in euery point fit for that purpose, which shalbe called, Plague houses, be built of matter cõueniẽt, in a place & ayre, good, both for thẽ that shall vse ẏ same, and also for the Citie: in such sort notwithstanding ẏ not so much gorgeousnesse as cõmodiousnes be sought, & that the charges be reasonable, & the vse necessarie: of the which seuerally we must briefly intreate.

The matter of the Plague houses.

And first of all concerning the matter, the same must not be clay, lome, turfs, or straw, but wood, stone, lime, because that putrifyng doth more easily happen, and the infection hang more longer in them, then in these.

The place.

Secondly, touching the place and situation, whereunto the ayre is also annexed or knit, this is to be obserued, that it be either in some out corner of the citie, or (ẏ which I had rather) without the Citie: not low, but open vnto the Sun, & high, & by a riuer side, if it may be. For the farnesse frõ others will further the let of infection: the highth will yeelde a more holsome ayre, and make the Sunne, which refresheth all things, to haue more passage vnto it: the riuer shall receiue al ẏ filth & excremẽts, which in such houses

is

is woont in great aboundance to be heaped togeather. Hitherto also pertaine large orchardes within the precinctes and compasse of the same: also greene walking places, gardens, in which are wholsome trees, pleasaunt grasse, sweete hearbs, flowers giuing forth pleasaunt sauours farre and wide, and finally there must be springing waters.

The forme.

Nowe the manner and forme of buylding is after such sorte to be thought vppon and deuised, as the commodity and necessity, and not gorgeousnesse doth require, as I haue sayde before. That largenesse therefore must be kept, which is agreeable vnto the Cittie not in Geometrical, but Arithmeticall proportion. Let the highth be twise as great as the breadth. Let the Chambers also within be of a reasonable largenes, furnished with Chimneies, such as the wynde may blowe through, not darke nor close, the windowes, as also the whole building, opening rather to the North, and East, then vnto the South or North: there must also be Bathes there, of the which in this our cause there is great vse. And this whole manner of buildinge appertaineth vnto manye thinges, and plainely sheweth, howe great their errour is, which doe so buyld the com-

mon Hospitalles, that the winde cannot pearse into them, then the which, especially in this disease, nothing caune bee thought and deuised moze hurtefull. Neyther is it any meruayle, if oftentymes the pooze soule that is brought hither, dye so muche the sooner. Foz albeit hee be not sicke of this disease, but of anye other lyghter sickenesse, oz also of a simple feuer: yet beeing receyued in that impure ayze, layde vppon foule and stincking beddes, he shall seeme to bee choaked, and to dye violently. I wil not now speake, howe indiscretlye they whiche are sicke in these houses, are oftentimes prouided foz of meate and drinke, and other necessaryes. Of which neglygence they one daye shall giue an accounte vnto GOD, who beeing rulars in these offyces, deale so vnfaythfullye, when as they are no small cause of the death of the myserable sicke persons. Diligence therefoze must bee vsed, that all such houses, if it maye bee, bee buylded by some Brooke, and in a place (as hath beene sayde) open vnto the winde and ayze, that they may bee thozowe blowen, and thinges defiled maye bee often washed and cleansed. Foz the impure ayze may

Of common Hospitals.

maye verye much hurte euen them that are whole, the which dayly experience sheweth. Also I sayde, that they are to bee buylded in an high place, with manye windowes, especially towardes the North, from whēce the ayre is more healthy. That ẏ windowes also ought often to bee opened, I neede not tell, for the thing it selfe dooth teache it. All which thinges, if they bee not diligentlye obserued, they will bringe more hurte then profit, and they were better to bee burned (I speake of manye common Hospitalles) in such a tyme of the Plague, then with hurte to bee suffered, as it is the counsayle not onely of Physitions, but also of Philosophers, and wise menne in Common wealthes. Marcus Varo being sometymes at Corcyra, and seeinge folke lye sicke commonlye in euery house, bringing in the North winde at newe windowes, and shutting vppe the South windowes, and altering the gate of the house, is reported to haue preserued his companions and al his family in health. *Varo.*

So Tholosa a citie of Aquitania, famous in respect of the Bishoppick, vniuersitie, & high court, when as cōmonly it was wont to be visited with a continuall plague, because *Tholosa.*

that

that the houses in the toppes or vpper parts towardes the high streates beeing buylded with certaine appentices (vnder which men goe safe from the rayne) did hinder the blowing through of the winde, it was by the kinges proclamation commaunded vnto al the inhabitauntes, not onely to take awaye those appentices, but that they shoulde forecut and drawe in from the verye bottome euen vnto the toppe, such houses, as seemed too much to narrow the publik way. With woondefull paine taking and speedie worke euery man plyeth his busines, a man would haue sayde, that they meant to pull downe and build vp a new the whole Cittie. But what was brought to passe? I will tell you that, which I may saye truelye: for I was an eye witnesse, the windes hauing somwhat a more free entrance, it made a notable drawing vp and blowing abroad of the vapors, and the plague did not so often haunte the Cittie, as it was woont to doe, and did also lesse harme. A rare example of wisdome, the which albeit it were not doone without great charges, yet if the case shoulde so require, it is worthy the following, especyally in our plague houses, in whose setting vp it may more easily be taken heede of, that they

Lemn. Lem. 3 de occul. nat. mirac. 3.

they may bee so buylded, that afterwardes they neede not be pulled downe againe.

And because I haue once entred to speak of the hurtfulnese of ỹ close ayre, I hope I shal doe a thing worth the trauaile, and such as shall refresh the wearinesse of the Reader, if I shall alleadge a certaine few, and the same very fearefull and straunge histories, concerning this matter. Of the hurtfulnes of close aire.

In Hieronimus Cardanus in his booke deVariet.rer. it is thus read: The 23. day of Iuly, in the yeere 1556. there happened a woonderfull thing, whereat I my selfe was present: Iacobus Philippus Cernuscus a moneth agoe, willeth a priuye to be digged vp out of the earth, and to be sieled, roofed and vauted. When it was finished, that ỹ vaut might be made sure, he commaundeth it to bee shut vp. Twentie dayes after he openeth it, hee biddeth the woodden peeces, wherewith they made hollowe the vautes, to be drawne out: one that was hyred goeth downe by a ladder, when he came vnto the middle of the ladder, hee fell downe dead. The maister, when as hee sawe him not to returne, goeth downe him selfe, and when he came thither, he *In append. ad fin. 9. ca. & lib. 1.*

by

by and by dyed. They that ſtoode by put in the third, who beeing on the middle of the ladder, ſayd: be of good cheere, I will bring vp the other, but when as hee once put his head vnder the vaute, hee ſtraight way fell downe dead. The fourth fell downe dead likewiſe. The fifth, called Matus (which in our tongue is a foole) beeing a verye ſtout fellowe went down, but he put not in his head, & with a hook pulled out one of the dead. Thereupon beeing made ſomewhat bolder, hee came againe, and went downe ſo farre, that hee put vnder his head, and by and by fell downe. When they had pulled him vp, and perceiued that there was yet breath in him, with vſing helpes by little and little they got lyfe of him agayne, and ſenſe, yet hee remained dumbe vntyll the ryſing of the Sunne the next daye. I, when as he begunne to ſpeake, asked him certain queſtions, but he onely remembred, that he went downe: they put in alſo a dogge, and he was drawn out halfe dead. They vncouered the place by the commaundement of the Magiſtrate, at the mouth of the denne they ſee without any hurt, running water. Thus much Card.

And beecause no certaine cause appeared, there were some whiche supposed, that a Basilisk Serpente laye lurking there, which Basilisk, after the opinion of the common people, is thought to come of the Egge of a Cock, being hatched by a Toad: the whiche I willingly with the learned and moste fine Writer L. Lemnius, the Phisition of Ziricæum doe thinke to bee but an olde Wiues tale: When as rather the stench, poysoned breathes, filthynesse, strong smell, and stinck, are they, whiche come out of foule and filthye places, take awaye the breath, and sometymes strangle a man. Although that there is no cause why any man should doubt that venemous beasts, which lye lurking in suche holes, doe sometimes worke the same.

The fonde opinion of the generation of a Basilisk.

L. Lem. 4. de occul. nat. mirac. 12. Dioſc. ca. vlt. & in hunc Mat. ibidem.

The like vnto this was sometimes tolde me by an eye witnesse, and such a one, as no exception is to be taken against: to witte, the most honorable & reuerent L. L. Georg, of worthy memorie, Duke of Brunswike, and Bysshoppe of Bream, &c, of a certaine Fountayn of Petersshag, (which is a Castle vnder the Bysshop of Mind) breathing out a woonderfull infectious sauour, whiche when it was somtimes scoured of the

A fountaine of Petersshag.

the filth, whatsoeuer lyuing thing was put into it, was by and by choaked, and by death (that I may speake with Pliny) made tryall of the force of this water, and that so long vntyll at length casting in, and settinge on fire a vessel filled with shippe pitch, & hearbs and sweete flowers, it was so cleansed, that afterwardes there might bee going into it without hurte, and euerye manne might occupy of the springing water therof without harme.

The lake of Puteol.

With these stories agreeth that of the Lake of Puteol, neere vnto Naples, into the which a Dogge being cast, dyeth within a little space: if when you haue taken him out againe, you plunge him in the stream neereby, he reuiueth. Also that which I my selfe haue seene at Menapis, in the Lordship of Burchhull (whiche is vnder William of Braunsberge a moste noble Gentleman, and excelling as well in all kinde of vertue, as in the prayse of a most auncient and most honourable pedigrew) of a certaine Wine cellar newely buylded, casting vp so sore a smell, that it could serue for no vse. But more of this sorte might be brought, if I did not auoide tediousnesse, and being too long. These therefore may suffice, concerning the matter,

William of Braunsberg.

matter, situation, and forme of the buylding: I wil go forward to recite the wealth, number, and vse of the same.

Fourthly therefore, prouision must be made for the rich, wherwith our plague houses are to be furnished: which being once appointed according vnto the estate and abilitie of euery Cittie, it is to be hoped, that by little and lyttle, through the lyberalytie of good menne, they will wax greater, and increase euerye day. Although in this case no other riches are sought after, then such as are needfull for the maintenaunce of those that neede, and the preseruation of the buylding. And because the Plague doth not alwayes reigne, therfore there shall not neede to be any yearely charges made, but, as I haue sayde, so much as shall be requisite for the reparations: If there be anye ouerplus, that shall be layd vp, eyther for the necessitie to come, or to be to bestowed vppon the vse of the poore. The riches of the Plague houses.

Nowe I sayde at the beeginning, that two such houses were to be buylded: namelye, the one for such as are yet sounde and well, but yet by reason of the companye at home, which they haue hadde with the sicke, Two Plague houses.

are to be suspected and feared: and the other for those which lye sicke, infected with the plague.

And as for other poyntes, they may bee like, but they must be conuenient waye, the one from the other. For it hath beene marked, that this sickly infection hath bene increased, euē by the inclosures of ẏ walles, and standing and touchinge of the houses together. And they muste in such order bee seuered the one from the other, that in receyuing the North wynde, and Sunne beames, the one bee not an hinderaunce vnto the other, nor bee anye let to receiue the free ayre: especially that the South winde out of the house of the sicke with his blaste, bring no disease and plaguy vapour or stēch into the ground of the whole and sounde. Therefore also it shal be more conuenient, at that side to haue no windowes at all, or else to keepe them shut.

The vse of the plague houses.

And hereof nowe also (that which in the last place was set downe) appeareth the vse of these houses. For, when as wee iudge this disease to bee by all meanes to be auoyded, as a present and deadly poyson, the which vnlesse it be diligently taken heede of, doth most vndoubtedly infect, therefore the

the first vse of this new buylding shal bee, to receiue those, who are infected as it were with a deadly lepry, that the other citizens may be in so much the lesse daunger. The which of how great weight it is, if any man will beleeue me, who neither haue any cause to lye, and am sory that there are many, who in their bookes doe lie notoriously (let it bee lawfull for me to speake so with Galen, in a good testimonie of my conscience) I canne shewe by many most true histories, ỹ which parcely I haue seene and liued, and partely haue heard of others worthy credite. For when as being yet a boy, I went to schoole in the Citie of Dauentrie, where was then a most florishing schoole, one of the schollers was taken with the Plague, which dwelled in his brothers house, surnamed Hercules, because of the singular strength of his bodye, my bourdfellowe, who, because hee was remooued betymes into a priuate house, vnto the which others had no accesse, neuer a one besides was infected with this disease, or died. Afterwardes, when being a young man I studyed Philosophy at Colain in the College of Artes, a certaine gentleman our schoolfellow, one amõgst many, whẽ there was at ỹ time no plague, died of ỹ

A scholler of Dauentry.

A student of Colain.

to witte, because his disease being knowne, he was by and by caried vnto a peculiar and an appoynted place for this purpose. Three yeares after, when I dwelled at Paris in the Colledge of Monachus, I sawe among two thousand boyes only one cooke diseased with this sickenesse, and by and by carried aside vnto a little cottage, which was builded in a large Orcharde for this purpose, to die there, the rest of the company remayning altogether safe and sound. At the length in the Cities of Venice and Padway, ỹ which it delighteth me often to remember, when as there I haunted the Phisicke Schooles, I sawe somewhat hotte beginninges of the plague, the which notwithstanding by this wisdome, and putting a part into such houses (for they haue them alwayes in a readinesse) and by seuering the hole and the sick, besides other kinds of pollicie, and paine taking, in a very short time for the moste part were appeased So true is the common prouerb, He that will flye smok, must flie the fier.

A Cooke of Paris.

The second ende shall stand them more in steede, whom the danger in deede is nigh, but which yet are not infected with the same. For when as the houses of many are verye vncom-

vncommodious, and more apt to nourish the corruption, then to remedy the same: also when as the men that dwell in them, are often poore, or seruile persons, or weake of nature, which do tremble at the verye name of such a sore disease, whereupon also they are in the more daunger, I would so haue them carried out of their infected houses, that they should forthwith be brought in ỳ plague house, and there in euery point after the same maner to be handled, after which I said, they were to be handled before, whē as they were shut vp in their own houses, sauing that here they may haue free ayre, and libertie to goe abroad, if they will walke forth, for the recreating of their minde sake. But how many dates are requisite for the cleansing of those, which are so carryed forth, that they maye freelye returne againe into the Cittie and company of men, because that the same time neither ought nor can with safetie inough be prescribed and appoynted vnto al, this iudgment must be left vnto the Phisitions, as it were vnto the Priests for this cruell leprie. To which purpose so speaketh Luther in his book of the Plague, handling the same matter, which we now haue in hand: If GOD (saieth he) in the olde Testament willed *Luther.*

those to be seuered, and put apart without the Citie, which were defiled with the lepry, to auoide the infection, howe much more iustly may we doe the same in this daungerous sickneſſe, that forth with, so soone as one is infected therewithall, hee either of his owne accorde remoue himselfe, or cause him to be remooued, that the infection may in time bequenched, not of that sick person onlye, but of the whole societie and all the Cittie, the whiche, if the infected haue free leaue to goe out vnto others, may by this meanes be infected. For such is at this tyme our plague of Witeberge (hee speaketh of the yeere, 1527.) namely, that it maye seeme as begunne onely by infection, so also gon thus farre as it is. For the ayre (thanks be to God) is hitherto pure and healthye, and of meere rashneſſe and negligence some, and the same in deede verye few, haue ben infected: albeit sathā with vnwoonted feare doe trouble vs, and make vs cowardharted. For with sundry craftes the enemie doth sport and playe in the hearts of men, and dooth them strike with feare most vaine.

Therfore this counsayle of so most wise a man is not lightly to bee regarded, but diligently to bee followed as I thinke, so longe as conuenientlye wee maye, to witte, when as the disease is yet in the beeginning, and hath not infected manye, nor assaulted the common wealth in many places: whereunto this our counsayle chiefly tendeth, that it maye rather be a forebewaring of this disease, then an experyence of the same. For when the griefe through long delay hath gottē strēgth, there can scarse anye thing bee doone certainely and wiselye, but wee goe at all aduenture, and manye thinges are to bee suffered: lyke as the Mayster of the ship seeketh out manye thinges at hab nab (as they saye) when as cutting now the seas, hee is doubtefull of the daungers and also of his lyfe. Not that I woulde haue men at anye time goe from the right rule of reason, albeit the successe aunswere not according vnto reason, which shoulde flatlye be against the counsayle of the reuerent olde man Hyppocrates, our Phisition. But it commeth to passe, it cōmeth (I say) to passe,

Eccle. 18.
Pers. sat. 3.
2. Aph. 38.

as in the heate of battaile, and amongst weapon (as is woont to be sayd) lawes are silent or mum, so also in this streightnes & sorowfull plight of thinges a smal regarde is had, either of the best or rightest order. For as there one while the standerbearer, one while the defender of the same, sometime the souldiours of the rereward, or Sergeaunt of the band, and sometimee also the generall of the army, by whose appoyntment all thinges vse to be well gouerned, are on the suddaine taken away: euen so it fareth here, where no lesse slaughter, nay some tymes also a greater happeneth, not onely the common Citizens, but also sometimes those, in whose hand lieth the authority of ordering this policy, which we describe and set out, are vnlooked for pulled away, and together with the ruler of the sterne, is the sterne lost also. The which case to preuent and meete withal in time, this our order and platforme such as it is, was taken in hand and set forth for.

Whether

Whether it bee lawfull for Christians in the time of the Plague to flie, and to leaue their Citie with a safe conscience.

Cap. 3.

NOw albeit I may seeme alreadie to haue spoken muche in this matter of the seuering of the infected: yet because of the affinitie or kinred of the cause, and diuersity of opinions, I will ioyne hereunto a very commō question, disputed not only by the Diuines, but also by the learned and Christian Phisitions: namely, whether in the time of the Plague it bee lawfull for a man for a season to forsake his Citie, and to flie with a good conscience. Of the which matter because there are sundrie opinions, I will briefly & plainely rehearse the reasons on both sides, and in the ende also will set down my iudgement, which shalbe a meane betweene both, & gathered out of the foūdations & grounds of the parties at variance. *A question.*

That it is lawfull to flie.

The former therefore say, that wee reade not of any of the Saints & holy men, which feared not death, and therefore that they feared sickneſſe alſo, chiefly ſo deadly a ſickneſs, and that if they coulde they would haue fled by all likelihood. May that it is vſuall vnto vs by natures lawe, & not learned by the teaching of men, to feare death. For ꝑ Apoſtle ſaith, That no man euer hated his own flesh, but rather to nouriſh, cheriſh, & by all meanes to maintaine and preſerue the ſame. Abraham (ſay they) for feare of death, called his wife Sara by the name of ſiſter, and had rather to make a lie, thē to come in dāger of his life. Iacob fled into Meſopotamia, that he might not fall into the handes of his brother Eſau. The ſame doth Dauid whileſt he flyeth from king Saul, and his own ſonne Abſolom. Elias otherwiſe a moſt bold man, and who with his owne hande had ſlaine the Prophetes of Baal but a little before, yet feared with the threatnings of Ieſabel the Queene, conueighed himſelfe a ſide into the wilderues. Moſes when as he was ſought after by the king of the Ægyptians, fled into Midia. Therefore (ſay they) it is not onely lawful to flie death, but other alſo the whips of God beeing angrie, as hunger, tyraunts, burnings,

1. Reaſon.

2

Ephe. 4.

Gen. 20.

Pſal. 3.

burnings, ouerflowinges of waters, colde, heate, captiuitie, wilde beastes : to be shorte, all kindes of diseases, agues, disenteries, vncleanesse, the Lepzie, the french pockes. &c. Which things sithence they are so, it shall be muche more lawfull to flie the plague and death. Furthermoze, all men are not indued with equal strength either of body oz minde, they say therefoze that it were not iust to requre the same thinges at the hands of all. Strong faith drinketh poison without hurt, wherewith a sucking oz young faith woulde die. Peter beeing bold, and hauing trust, walked in the Sea without harme, the same a little after doubting, began to bee drowned. And Christe will not haue the weake to bee despised. Moreouer, it is euident by the doctrine of all Physitions, that such is the nature of infection, that going from one subiect and body into another, that is next and fittest to receiue it by due and conuenient distance, it doth infect and corrupt the same: for two thinges are required, that there may bee an impression, oz printing and marking: namely, aptnesse of the subiect and neerenesse. Therefoze when as it is manifest by their owne iudgement, and also daily experience, that the plague is a most infectious disease,

Ruth. 1.
Leuit. 26.
Ezech. 5. 4.
Hierom. 14.
Deut. 28.

3

4

Mark. 16.

Gal. ad Pyson de Theriaca.

as

as which is wont to bee taken by the drawing in of the corrupted and poysoned ayre, they in deede giue counsaile, that it be shunned, so much as may bee, and amongest all kinde of counsailes, they confesse that none is better, then is speedy flying away, long carrying foorth, and slowe returning again. For there is no way more commodious to auoide the infected ayre, none more safe, when as the ayre must alwayes bee drawen yea euen against our willes, and it is drawē, such as it is. And they say that the same remedie is with so much the more speede to be vsed, by howe muche the euill is more hurtfull and present. That we ought to flie the further, to the end a more healthie ayre may be found. Finally that wee must returne the more slowly, that wee may bee the more sure of the cleansing of the corrupted ayre. Hereupon they think in time of the plague these three aduerbes, (quickly, farre, slowly) to bring more ayd & safe remedie, then 3. of the beste furnished Apothecaries shops. For the plague (as Galē vnto Piso is autor) with an airie bodie is as it were a certaine dragon, & no commō dragon, but such a one who when as he is not seene with the eyes, doth priuily and by stealth, lying as it were

Leonarth. Fuch. 4. de med. morb.

in ambushment, euery where breath out his poyson vpon men, and no common poyson, but suche as increasing moste speedily, may in a very shoꝛt time deuour the whole body of the common wealth. Foꝛ the yll qualitie of the ayꝛe (saith Galen) is made a readie change vnto coꝛruption: and when as men thꝛough the necessitie of bꝛeathing cannot auoid danger, they doe by the mouth dꝛawe vnto them the ayꝛe it selfe as a certain poyson. Wheꝛefoꝛe the same Galen calleth and pꝛaiseth Hypocrates, as a man many wayes wondertull, foꝛ that no otheꝛwise then by the changing of the ayꝛe, hee cured that Plague which out of Æthyopia had assaulted the Greekes. Foꝛ when as he had commaunded a fiꝛe to bee made thꝛoughout the whole Citie of Athens, hee cast into it not only a bare heape of wood, but flowers & garlands of most sweet sauour, also most fat smelling ointments, that the men might dꝛaw in vnto themselues the ayꝛe thus purged as an ayd and helpe foꝛ them. Lastly (say they) doe wee not with great admiration and wonder see, sometimes a great familie to dye one after another, out of the whiche if any by the counsaile of the Phisitions, flie in time, they remaine alwayes foꝛ the

Marsil. Ficin. de epid. cap. 6.

most

most part in safetie? How fewe also of those die, which depart out of infected Cities, we our selues daylie see: so that in this case they thinke that saying of Demosthenes to haue place, the man that runneth away, will fight againe, Now if it be vnlawful and sin to shunne such places, or by going aside to leaue thē, then to liue also, the which notwithstanding is a singuler gift of God, after a sort shalbe sinne. But God will haue vs so long to haue care of our life, which hee hath giuen vs, vntill he take it away, which gaue it vnto vs. For we are in this world as it were his souldiers, and for the most part set in the fore front of the battaile, from whence we must then only retire, when as it shall please him for to call vs. And hee that either of negligence or rashnesse forsaketh his standing, shalbe counted giltie of treason. And these for the most part are the reasons of thē that holde it lawfull, as to flie death, so also according to our power to flie sickenesse.

That it is not lawfull to flie. 1. *Reason.*

On the other side the other with no lesse earnestnesse affirme the contrary. For when as diseases (say they) especially vniuersall diseases, are the punishment of God for our sinnes, wee ought not to flie the anger of our

our Father, but rather to appeare before him, and patiently to waite for stripes, like vnto boyes, that haue plaied some vnhappie tricke. For they say that the examples alleadged by the aduersarie part, make mention, not of the plague, but of death, yea and of such a death as by the persecution of men is laid vpon vs (betweene which two things there is great difference & oddes.) For that wee may escape the handes of men, but not of God. And that men oftentimes haue vniust causes of persecuting, as tyrannie, desire to reigne, reuenge, couetousnesse, ambition, enuie, anger, hatred, reproche, quarrellyng, letcherie, incest, stealing away or desiring of another man his wife, which thinges are wont to stirre vp men to persecute others: but that God doth punishe no man saue onely lawfully. Hereunto is added, that the punishment of men is not alwayes taken in hande for amendement, but often for reuenge of some lewde act: For the magistrate (saith the Apostle) beareth not the sworde in vaine, but is a terrour and feare vnto the wicked, and suche for the moste parte were the punishments of the olde Testament: But God who is made a father vnto vs in Iesus Christe his sonne,

Wol. Musc. in explan. Psal. 86, 91.

sonne, doth not punish vs for reuenge, but for amendement. For whom he loueth, the same hee chastiseth. Hee is also faithfull, & suffereth vs not to bee tempted aboue our strength: But tempteth to make it knowene, whether we loue him or no. And him that abideth this tentation, the same doth Saint James pronounce happie, because when hee shall haue beene tryed (saith hee) hee shall receiue the crown of lyfe, which the Lorde hath promised vnto them that loue him. Hereupon saith S. Peter, Well beloued, maruaile yee not, when as you are tryed by fyre, for this thing is doone for your tryall. And Dauid calleth God, the Sauiour of suche as trust in him: for there is a promise of his, in which it is saide: Call vppon mee in the day of thy trouble, and I will deliuer thee. These thinges cannot bee saide of men which persecute vs: like as neither can that, whereas the booke of wisdome calleth God the louer of the soule: because when as wee call for his helpe, hee cannot forget his office and minde towardes vs: as hee who hath taken vpon him the name of Father, as a most notable token of his good will towardes his creature, and giuen it peculiarly vnto

Prou. 2.
Heb. 12.
Ephe. 4.
Aug. sermo. 24. de tent.
Deut. 33.
Iacob. 1.
1. Pet. 4.
Psalm 17.
Psal. 50.

vnto himselfe, and doth yet dayly and bountifully by infinite benefites shewe his goodnesse powred out vpon vs, and by his prophet Ezechiel crieth out: I will not the death of a sinner, but that he be conuerted and liue. Againe by Esayas, I the Lorde thy God teach thee onely profitable things. Agayne, by the Apostle Paule, that hee will haue all mē to be saued. And can these things I pray you (say they) be spoken likewise of angry tyrants, and those that reuenge themselues on vs, such as are the examples alleaged by the aduersaries? Wherefore who woulde distrust God so bounteous a father, and driuen as it were by despaire, flie his chastizement taken in hande for our greate profite. They say further, especially such as are fullest of tongue among them, that it is no small token, that God is displeased with their running away, who by going aside in such sort goe about to seeke health for themselues, when as oftentimes they neuertheles die in another corrupted ayer euen of this sickenesse, whereof wee speake, or els of some other griefe, and by flying, indeede doe not flie. As concerning the counsel of Phisitions, that they are not vnto Christians of such weight, that therefore they ought not to

regarde the authorities alleadged out of the worde of God and holy Scriptures: for that Physitions seeke the health of the bodies, not the health of the soules: of which duty being mindful, they leaue vnto euery man the care of his owne soule. Last of all, this side preacheth much of the band of charitie, wherwith we are bound one vnto an other: and especially of ỹ charity of those which liue in one citie, or ỹ which is more, in one church, & being sworne together in one spirituall league & othe, are ioyned together as it were into one loafe and bodie. For what a monster or straunge thing (saye they) were this, if same one member of our bodie haue caught some harme, or shal peraduenture catch hurt, shall it therefore be forsaken of the rest of the body: or shal it not rather by all meanes bee holpen: Or if some one part of the citie burn with fire, shall it not therefore be succoured, but shall the towne because of the danger be fled from and be forsaken? If a man fal into the hands of theeues, and being wounded of them be left halfe aliue, shal it beseeme vs after the example of the Leuite and Pharisie to passe by him, & not rather with ỹ Samaritane to come downe from our horse, that is to say, to come down from our owne com-

4 The band of charity.

modity

modity, to repayre ỹ hurt of our neighbor, & curteously according vnto our power to help & vse him: That verilie shoulde bee to Heathenlike, and beastly. S. John saith: Whosoeuer loueth not his brother, is a man slayer: and how doth he loue him whō being left in great distresse by flying away he forsaketh? Is it not cast in the teeth of Sodome among her other sinnes, that they forsooke and cared not for their neighbours? And to speake at a word, what (I pray you say they) shalbee the principall article of God his last accusation, and condemnation agaynst vs, saying for that wee did not in time helpe those whiche stoode in neede of our helpe, did not doe them good, did not ayde them with our counsaile, goodes, and trauel? For (saye they) we must after a certayne sort buy heauen, whilest we liue on earth, if wee wil euer enioye the possession thereof: we must buy (I say) not for so much money as it is worth, but by a singular good will and loue towards GOD and our neighbour, through the onelye liberalitie of the Lorde God, and the stepping in of the Suretishippe of Iesus Christ his Sonne by his owne blood, who vndertooke for vs, and bound himselfe vnto his father.

Eccle. 1.
Psalm. 40.
Psal. 41.
Mat. 25.

He meaneth that by the fruites of a true faith we must shew our selues to pertaine vnto the kingdom of heauen bought for vs by Christ.

To conclude, they which mainteine this opinion (I speake of some, not of all, for manie of them haue more wit) will haue vs so farre forth boldely to contemne and despise all both sickenesse and death, that they will scarse graunt any vse of phisick vnto men, but contend that all things are to be committed vnto God alone: following the Euchite heretiks, of whom I haue spoken before, who iudged al things both troublesome and prosperous to be to be kept away, or obteined by onelye prayer, contemning and despicing all other meanes.

We therefore, as we haue promised, will now set in betweene these two partes our iudgement, the which if any man shal happily dislike, wee willingly giue him leaue to appeale whither soeuer he wil. First therefore my meaning is not by any meanes to vndermine charitie and the loue of our neighbour, the which no doubt ought to be more deare vnto vs then our own blood, like as the sonne of God himself, whom wee beleeue to bee set forth vnto vs by the father, not only for an attonment and ransom, but also for an example to follow, gaue his life for vs. Further, in the former parte I wishe this, that they would more diligently consider and weigh, what

Rom. 5.
1. Cor. 12.

what it is to bee bounde vnto some certayne companie, either by the common law of Citizens, or by publike duety. For albeit peraduenture that we owe more vnto our wiues, children, & kinsfolk, then vnto others: yet that cannot bee vnderstood, when as the question is of the helping of the common necessitie of the whole weale publike, whereof thou art made a member and part to doe seruice vnto the vniuersal body, and the which also is farr aboue all both affinities and kinreds. For, for this calling sake, the which is no doubt of god, euery mã is bound to folow ỹ other. He that forsaketh not father and mother for my sake, is not worthy of me. Therfore ỹ former law is corrected by the latter, & constreyned to giue place vnto it: and he that before was bound vnto his parents, so that hee is compelled to obey them, he afterwards by a more general lawe ought to leaue Father and mother, and to follow God, calling him another way, that is, that he either cleaue vnto his wife, or that which is of more weight, vnto the whole commõ wealth, or congregation of the Church. Yet let no mã vnderstand this so, as if in the same degree wee did not owe more vnto our houshold thẽ vnto others, but I speake of diuers kinds & conditions of

duetie. In the latter opinion I find want in this point, that they doe not plainely enough iudge a cause of so great weight. For albeit it be a certain Stoical hardnes & clubbishnes, wt such stedfastnes to tarry for & abide so great an euil & present danger: yet al mẽ simply neither can nor ought to be boũd vnto one law. For by what meanes otherwise, can so many holy fathers be iustly excused, which are read somtimes to haue shũned such dãgers, I cannot see. My meaning is, neither to haue the one too fainthearted, & as it were distrustfull, nor the other too hardy or rash: but there is a meane to be chosen of thẽ both, in the whiche we are wõt to go in most safety, & wherin al vertue doth cõsist, & ỳ cõmon people vseth to say very truly. which things being diligẽtly cõsidered, thus I say: if at any time it may be gathered by certain tokẽs, ỳ the plague or any other kind of general sicknes, hath growẽ through no grosse negligence & sluggishnes of mẽ, or through any natural default (which in this poynt is diligẽtly to bee marked) but rather by the manifest & meere indignation & wrath of God, as sometimes it is apparant by the voyces of ỳ prophets, & other vndoubted church histories of the time of our elders, then I thinke ỳ the rod of God our Father

What is to bee done in a plague or sicknes immediatly sent by God,

ought

ought in no case to be fled frō. For who is so rude, as to beleeue ẏ his chastisemēt is a fighting in the night, which at al aduentures striketh them that come first to hand? nay rather let the faithful perswade thēselues assuredly of this, that albeit in the reigning of suche a Plague Noe, Dauid, and Iob were present, yet through their righteousnesse they should but saue their own soules. For cōcerning suche it is true, which vseth to be sayde, that it is foremarked out by God, who and by what meanes must bee spared. But if, as in these times it chiefly e commeth to passe, and as Luther saieth of the plague of Witeberge 1527. through our own vnwarines & rashnes, ẏ I say not enuy & despising of good counsel such cōmon sicknesses do arise, & visit some certaine citie particularly and by little & little infect those especially wch are next, as pitch doth those ẏ touch it, I nothing doubte (I say) but that it is lawfull for the godly e & wise to flie and shun such places, especially hauing a decree of the Magistrate set downe to that effect, as hath byn saide before. For why, if my neighbor wil of purpose set a fire his house, shal not I fly from the flame therof? But if it bee also ordayned by the authority of the Magistrate, that he ẏ hath no sto-

Ezech. 6. 14.

What must be done in sicknesses procured by our owne negligence. &c.

macke to tarrie, may depart, setting his thinges in such order before hand, that nothing be wãting vnto any bodie, which in these distresses should be greatly needful: his conscience in this case may be altogether free: but if he cõmaund it, there can be no resistance with a good conscience. For the same in this behalf is behoouefull oftentimes, which is in greate fires and burnings of houses, to the quẽching wherof, because al persons are not fit, some certaine in some cities, are appointed, who onelie vndertake this charge, & is not lawful for others to come run vnto it: or that whiche is done in the besiegings of cities, that olde men, women, children, weake persons, who may be only a cumbrance, & no help vnto the common wealth, be for a time put aside into a more conuenient hauen, vntill the citie bee deliuered from the enemy.

And this way I both a Christian, & also a Philition, leaning vpon the grounds of Philosophy & diuinitie, without affection & loue to the parties, (as in other matters) the which hath alwaies done much harme to all trueth: moreouer diligently examining the reasons on both sides, with a well aduised mind haue iudged, that the parties at variãce may bee made friendes, vnlesse of striuers

they

they will become wranglers. But yet if anie man (that I may repeat this again) will peradventure complaine as one not contented, I graunt him the Apostles, let him appeale vnto what higher iudge he will: or returning to the old fathers doubtles worthy men & famous for godlines, learning, and wisedome, let him renew & wage his law a fresh. I being dispatched out of these matters, returne to mine owne businesse.

Of carrying foorth of the dead, and accompanying the corse to the buriall.

Cap. 4.

IF it now fall out (whiche is vsuall in suche a state of things) that some dye, which are anon to be carried forth and buried, because such a matter requireth diligent heedtaking for the letting of infection, here also must bee seene what way may be found out by the preseruers, that it may be done with as little dãger as may be. And it consisteth chiefly in 2.

articles, to wit, by whom, & how this thing ought to be done. Here therfore it shalbe needfull to followe the custome of our Elders, who had a certayne kinde of Mõkes, whom, because they wer for the most part vnlerned, they were in some places called Ignoraunt brethren, or Begardes, as if you would say, Keepers of the sicke: or Lollardes, because they mourned for them that were dead. Whose office was, to attend vpon the dead, which required their seruice, but especially, to serue such as had the plague, and the same priuately, sometimes also by admonitions to strengthen and comfort them, and to put the dead in coffins, & to carry them to burying. A custome verily not to bee despised. And there is extant or abroade a certaine treatise, whiche goeth vnder the name of Saint Hierom, but falsly, in which the first degree of orders in the Churche is ordayned to bee of them, which burye the dead, whiche office nowe a dayes is counted moste vyle. But howesoeuer it bee, there must needes bee some certayne appoynted, and hyred vppon a publike stypende, menne not of ill name, nor spendthriftes, nor of the very basest condition, of the whiche some shall bee called Sockers, or Buriars, or Diggers and layers

Ignoraunt brethren.

layers foorth of the dead : other Tumbe or Graue makers: others Cleansers and carriers foorth of the dead :and their office must bee to digge graues, to make Coffins, and to put the Corses in them, to carrie them foorth and burie them . Moreouer also in such manner as we shal hereafter set forth for to cleanse, wash, and make cleane the infected houses, and al things appertayning thereunto, so farre as of them shall bee required. And these beyng thus hyred, shal eftsoones be by an earnest othe, & certaine penalty set downe restreined, that they go to no other nor make graues for any other, thē such as lie sick of ỹ plague, or are dead, but ỹ they keep thēselues either at home, or goe abroade marked with some mark, as a white waude, or some suche like thing: neither yet so notwithstāding that they mixe themselues in the company of mē, or come neere vnto them.

I would moreouer haue thē admonished, that they perswade them selues to take in hande and execute this charge vile and reprochefull before men, not so much for lucre sake, as for the common bande of charity and humanity: but ỹ they shold know ỹ they doe a most godly work: which somtimes holy mē of God, nay Angels thēselues are read to haue done.

Therfore

Hist. eccl. 9. cap. 8. *Tob. 1. 2.* *Deut. 24.* *Bul. 1. de orig. er.*

Therfore that they behaue themselues soberly, & quietly, & honestly vse the corses of the dead, as which shal be againe the holy houses of the soules, and renewed againe with their soules, albeit for a time only they haue departed from them, shal rise againe out of ỹ earth, and being lightened with heauenly glorie & diuine brightnes shal liue with God for euer.

Certaine comparisons.

We doe greatly esteeme, and giue singuler reuerẽce vnto those infants of great princes, whom we think shal in time to come possesse the kingdom, & be rulers of so great honors, & shal we despitefully or vnreuerẽtly handle those bodies, in the which we shal one day see our God and brother Iesus Christ after like sort clothed, & shall reigne with him for euer and euer? It is an hainous offence, by anie meanes to violate temples made by the hãos of men, and he which did ease himselfe in the temple of Apollo Pithius, is noted with an immortall infamy, and thought to haue committed a most great offence, how much lesse shall it be lawful for vs, to handle despitefully and rashly the temples of the holy ghost, as if they were the carkases of bruite beasts, after the manner of the Cinik Philosophers? When as seruants lay their maisters in bed, going to sleep, they doe not boysterously cast them

them downe, but handle them softly & handsomely, lay them downe and couer them, it is therefore muche more meete and comely, reuerently to lay downe our dead that sleepe in the Lorde, in this bedde out of which they shalbe rayled vp vnto life immortall. What king can take it well, if he eyther heare or see his children that are dead to be vsed vnhonorably? When as therfore it is to be beleeued, that those which die in faith, are the sonnes of God, much more will he be offended, if he see any thing done vndecētly vnto the bodies of his faithful. Finally to be short, they which shall haue the charge of this matter, must remember that the same which S. Paule saith, that al things in the church are to be done decently, and in order, appertaineth also vnto this purpose.

But some man may aske this questiō, what solemnity then, and as it were publike honor shal there be, wherewith the dead are wont to be carried forth vnto their graue? In sundrie cities sūdry customes are obserued, but we in this case require as little solemnitie as may be. Not that I denie it to becōe christians to be honorably buried, but these times require other manners. And because that now pryde creepeth in by little and little, as in tymes

Solemnities honour in buriall.

past

past through the couetousnesse of Masse Priestes, and through abuse defileth a thing otherwise commendable. I haue knowen greate menne, who haue by will diligently prouided, that they woulde bee buryed without all pompe. But these are outwarde thinges and indifferent, for the whiche eyther admitted or omitted no man ought to bee iudged. For albeit the prayseable custome bee not rashelie to bee despised, yet it is reason, that the solemnitie giue place to necessitie: which necessitie in the iudgement of all wise men, is not subiect vnto lawe, but the lawe ought to serue and bee subiecte vnto it, which might be proued by many examples, if it were needefull. But if men can not otherwise be perswaded, but ỳ there must some solemne fashion be vsed, the same ought to be most moderate or measurable, least any hurt might grow therby vnto the whole society or fellowship, & least (as that same Cato sayd) in deathe it selfe wee might seeme to bee ambitious and proude.

Budeus and Valeublus in Fraunce.

Furthermore because it is the manner in some Cities, for suche as are neere in kinne at that time to goe into the house of the sicke, there must commaundement bee giuen, that this bee not lawfull for anye: for the

None of the kinne to go into the houses of the infected.

the houses of diuers are verye straight, and stinking, which stinck moreouer is not a little increased with the breath of sundry men, and maye doe verie muche hurte to tender and weake natures, and such as are not vsed to it.

Agayne, none out of the infected and corrupted houses must bee suffered to accompanie the corse, albeit custome require it neuer so muche: likewise as wee haue before appoynted these thinges to bee diligentlie obserued. The same is to bee iudged of heapes of children that are scholliers, who in some places are woont to be and sing at burials. For they are alwayes in more daunger of taking the infected ayer, by reason of their tenderneſſe of age, and vnwary kynde of dyet. All whiche thinges that they may by one way bee auoyded, I leane vnto this opinion, whereas I haue saide before also, that all multitude of people is to bee shunned, that this custome bee so long broken of vntill the publike sickeneſſe cease and asswage it selfe. For the ceremonie is not so much to bee regarded, that for it sake wee shoulde indaunger our health. For ceremonies ought to serue vs, and not we ceremonies. And we haue byn long sithence perswaded, that what soeuer

None of the infected to accompany the corse.

soeuer of these thinges is done, that it is not done for the helpe of the dead (as our Auncetors haue fondly beleeued) but for the comfort of them that be aliue (as S. Augustine speaketh in another place) namely, whilest they see, that euen after death there shall some regarde be had of them, and that there is hope of another life, which may comfort in vs this sorowful departing. But if any wil pretend and alleadge the duety of charitie, the whiche by this meanes may seeme to be diminished, and as it were withdrawen from the poorer sort, they shal easily be pacified, when as they shall see the same order to be obserued in all. As for such as moued with a singuler zeale shall more earnestly vrge and cal for this olde custome, in them their zeale is to be praysed, but knowledge is to be required. They must be instructed therefore, that they may learne in what thinges the duetyes of sincere godlinesse and chastity doe consist, That the true honour & true burial customes, is the praise of vertues, and remembraunce of valiaunt deedes done, the which albeit it be lawfull in deed to solemnize with outward shewes, yet is it not alwaies expedient. To be short, that the publike healthy is more to bee regarded, thē zeale of a few priuate persons, that I say not

not the will of superstitious men, not rightly instructed: for too hot zeale and ioyned with ignorance is superstition.

And these thinges as we haue saide, the Preseruers must commaund diligently to be kept: whereunto also they shall adde this, that neither the chesting of them, nor the carying of them forth to their graue, be done eyther too slowly, or too hastily. For the one may bring danger of increasing the infection, to wit, by carrying of ill vapours or reekes from the rotten carkasse, & somtimes also intolerable sauours, and doth greatly hurt the hole: the other hath sometimes beene hurtfull vnto them that haue been thought to bee dead, but were not yet dead in deede. We know, saith Alex. Benedictus, some to haue been drawne to their graue by the handes of the buriers half aliue, others of the Nobles to haue been put into their sepulchres, whose life as yet lay hid in the corners of the hart. One of the noble matrones so buried (namely at Venice) a little while after was seene dead, who notwithstanding sitting vp, and remoued from her place among the dead carkasses had reuiued, whereof her towne haire, and brest rent with her nailes were a great token. Alas, howe often beeing a-

what superstition is.

Le Lem. de occult. nat. mir. 2. cap. 3.

Lib. 1. de pest. cap. 1.

Plin. 7. cap. 52.

Certaine histories of some that haue beene buried alive.

liue among the dead, did shee call vppon the goddes in vaine? The same hath been tolde mee of a certaine other, the whiche beeing great with childe at Padway, and thoughte to bee dead, and buried, a little while after in the very sepulchre, brought foorth aliue two twinnes, who w their crying, admonishing the keepers of the Churche in the night of their miserable case, together with their mother were deliuered from the daunger. And least any man shoulde maruaile that they coulde remaine aliue, who coulde not choose but be choked by reason of being kept from drawing of the ayre, let him know that it is the manner of the Italians, that worshipful houses haue peculiar places in the churches, to wit, large cellars and vaulted, in the which they lay their dead, put in no coffins, nor couered with earth. The like in maner is manifest, & that by ỹ testimonie of a publike table painted and hanged vp at the Church of the Apostles, concerning a certaine woman of Coloine, who albeit shee were chested, and couered with earth, yet deliuered by chaunce, and returning vnto her husband liued with him a long time after. For when as hee which buried her, minded in the night time by digging vp the graue, to fetch away

a ring

a ring which was left vpon her finger being buried, with that stirring and pulling, her poore soule being raised vp againe, whiche was thought to haue beene departed from her body, whereas it was but only in a sowne, reuiued. Last of all at Tholossa in Aquitania I knewe a poore fellowe, who being buried after the same sort but beeing neither put in a coffin, nor coueres with earth, returned againe vnto life, which falsly hee was thought to haue lost, when as hee was rather taken in a long traunce, at that time when as many dyed daylie of ỹ plague. What shall I say more? It is no easie matter among so many dangerous & great euils not to commit some folly & ouersight. Wherefore wee must deale both wisely and courteously, least whilest wee goe about to saue the life of the one, wee rashly betray the life of the other.

Of a Church yarde to bee placed without the Citie, and of the manner of building of the same.

Chap. 5.

HEre remaineth that we speake something also of the place of buriall, the which in respect of ỹ rest, wherein we waite for life euerlasting with God & his blessed Angels, or bodies being laid in the earth, is called a sleep Chamber, or as we vsually speake, a church yard: of the which, when as it is the opinion of all Phisitions in a manner, that there doe arise from thence infectious and corrupt exhalations or reekes, whiche doe infect the ayre, and wonderfully increase corruption (insomuch ỹ also in the keeping of a healthfull diet, they would haue mens houses to be farre from church yards) this care also must be taken in hand by ỹ Preseruers of health, that laying their heads and purses together, they builde church yardes in a place most fit for that purpose without the Citie. Whiche

Koimeterion

thing

thing beſides the profit ſhall not a litle make alſo for the publike decencie & comelines, & the keeping back of profaning and abuſing the ſame, farre vnbeſeeming chriſtian Cities & vntollerable, as it is eloquently & grauely ſome where written by Martyn Luther, whoſe words becauſe I haue iudged thē meet to be ſet down in this place, I haue thought good thus to tranſlate: Firſt of all (ſaith he) I leaue this to be diſcuſſed by the iudgemēts of phiſitions, who vnderſtand this matter better then I, whether it be done without danger, to haue Church yardes within the walles of Cities or no. For truly I cannot tell, whether any vapour bee drawen out of graues, which may infect the ayre. Whiche thing if it bee ſo, that ſhal be cauſe ſufficient that they be builded without the territorie of the cities. For wee haue ſaid a little before, that all men at all handes are bound to reſiſt infection, when as God himſelfe hath cōmaunded vs to haue care of our bodie and life, and when as he biddeth not the contrarie, to take heede vnto our ſelues from perilles: againe with a ſtoute courage to deſpiſe daungers, when as the caſe ſo requireth, ſo that wee may ſeeme readie vnto him alone, both to liue and

The iudgement of M. Luther of churchyards.

also for to die. For no man liueth vnto himselfe, neither doth any man die vnto himselfe: as Saint Paule speaketh in
Chap. 14. his Epistle vnto the Romanes. And this I am assured of that among the olde as well Iewes as Gentiles, as well godly as vngodly, this was the custome, to haue their burials and graues without the Citie, who notwithstanding were no lesse wittie nor wise then wee. That whiche I haue said, the Gospel of Luke doth shew, when as Christe before the Citie Naim raised from death the sonne of the widdowe. For the text saith, that he was carried without the Citie to be buried, and that many followed him. So that there is no doubt, euē by the vsage of this one place, that those men had their burials without the walles of the Citie; as also it is euident that the sepulchre of Christe himselfe was without the Citie Hierusalem. Abraham bought himselfe a peculiar place in the fielde Ephron, where all the fathers vsed to be buried, whereupon also the Latine worde hath his originall, that the dead are saide to be carried out, that is, to bee carryed out of the towne or Citie, which we call to be carried to burying. Albeit some nations v-

sed also to burne the dead carkasses, and bring them to ashes, that there shoulde nothing remaine, that might infect the ayre. This therfore shalbe my counsaile, that folowing the examples of these, we builde our Church yardes also without the citie. And verily as ours of Witeberg is placed, not only necessitie but also honestie and godlinesse ought worthilie to admonish vs, nay to force vs, that another should be builded without. For it is altogether beseeming that such a place should be reuerend, & in a quiet roome, aside from the high way, as in the whiche a man might bee with some religion and deuoutnesse, to thinke vppon death, the resurrection, and last iudgement, and to pray. The place (I say) ought to bee honorable & * holy, that no mā shold enter into it without fear & reuerēce: whē as it is to be beleeued, that there are not wāting there many of the saints & elect of god. As for ours it is any thing, rather then a sleepe chamber, or church yard, nay it is almost nothing els, thē 4. or 5. common streetes, and 2. or 3. maket places, so ꝑ in a maner there is no place of the citie more trodē & more vn

Burning of the dead.

* He meaneth not popish holinesse, but a separation from common vse.

Ouer this aſwell Cattaile as men doe courſe day and night. Into this euery mā hath either a gate open into his houſe, or els a way made, in this all thinges are done, and oftentimes ſome ſuch thing, as ought not to bee named. Heereof it commeth that all reuerence and honour towardes the monuments, whiche are there placed, is key cold, neither are they any more eſteemed, then ſome vile Golgotha, into the whiche the carkaſſes of bruite beaſtes are caſt aſide: ſo farre that the very Turke doeth not ſuffer his Church yardes ſo vnreuerently to bee prophaned, as wee in name Chriſtians; when as it were meet, as I ſaid before, in this place for vs to renue the memory of true godlineſſe, of death, & of the reſurrection, to thinke vpon the liues of holy men that lie buried heere, and to giue * honour vnto their ghoſtes. Nowe howe can theſe thinges bee doone conueniently in a place lying ſo open and common vnto euery bodie? Truly for mine owne part, if there be any honour at all to bee ſought in buriall of mine, I had as leeue bee buried in the Riuer Albis, or in a wood, as in ſuch a Church yarde.

* Hee ſpeaketh not of worſhipping the dead, but of thinking reuerently of them.

But

But if it were in an other place seuerally without the citie, whereunto there were no common entrãce or passage through for euery body, then doubtlesse it would seeme a thing religious, honourable to behold, and holy, which might stirre vp the commers thither vnto the studye of godlynesse. And this my iudgement, he that lyst may folow: If there be any better thing reuealed vnto an other, let him vse his own iudgement. I am not Lorde ouer any man. Thus farre the opinion and mind of Luther, the whiche I haue laboured to interpret and translate not so eligantly, as faithfully and plainely, when as it seemeth a matter of great weight, of which we intreate, and that of greater weight, then commonly it is supposed to be. For, albeit it be reported of certaine people, that they vse euery man in his owne house to keepe their dead put in Coffins, like as wee in a manner as fondly bury in Churches, such as many tymes are not worthy of the high way: yet that is too barbarous, and vnlesse they bee well dressed with manye precious things, vntolerable.

Now, concerning the situation and manner of buylding, it shall bee more agreeable The situation of the churchyard.

vnto reason, that it be lying more towarde the North, then the South: and that it be set rather in a high and dry place, then in a low and wette place. For as it hath beene sayde before, when as there arysseth alwayes out of Church-yardes aboundance of infectious exhalations and breathes, and corrupteth the ayre, the situation, lownes, and moystnes of the ground, may not a litle increase this inconuenience: which they witnesse, who sometimes white linnen cloathes there. For manye times they finde that they gather an vnpleasaunt smell from out such places: by which meanes it likewise happeneth, that often in low and foggy places, kitchins & vallies there appeareth a certaine fier gentlye touching without any hurt, the haire or garmens, as Virgil writeth of the childe Ascanius, and Titus Liuius of Seruius Tull. For this commeth of a certaine fat moystnes, or clammy fatnes, which is there more plenteous, whereof arysseth somwhat a thick exhalation or fogge, but yet not so hotte, that it can get vp vnto the highest regiõ of the aire, much lesse that it can get aboue it. Wherfore by reason of the coldnes of ỹ place, it is dryuen down, and either through the rubbing of it self hard together, or by the restraint of the extreame

Aeneid. 2. & vrb. cond. 1.

extreame cold, is by the force of it own heat set on fire. As they also say of ỹ rouing and wandring fire (which some call fooles fire, Pliny nameth it Castor & Pollux, ỹ Greeks tearme it Polydeukes) the which is wont to folow or go before such as trauel in ỹ night, especially such as ride or go by sea, not without some frighting of the ignorant, which thinke it to be a spirit, whereas it is a thing altogether naturall and harmlesse, the which hurteth no body. But because we are fallen into the mentioning of this naturall imagination, I wil adde hereunto, that wonderful fabulment or tale, which Hier. Cardanus reporteth of certain dead mẽ, that were wont to be seene about Sepulcres and Graues. The which, least any man should think that I forge vpon him, whẽ as it is a thing almost incredible, I will set downe his own words: Dead bodies (saith he) to be seen in fields about graues, and especially murthered, and not deepe buried, & which in their life time were fierce and cruel, to be seen I say, in the night tyme, and chiefly of suche as are ignoraunte of this, is a thinge altogether naturall: When as the moyst and freshe bodye of man in the graue, dooth cast vppe a vapour

Fooles fire.

Whether it bee naturall for dead bodyes to be seene about graues.

De vari. rer. 16. cap. 93.

pour alwayes of one likenes according vnto his greatnesse, which carryeth the shape of a man. Whereas in times paste, when the bodyes were burnt, and put in a vessell, no such thing was seene. This saith he, fearefull doubtlesse to bee heard, but much more to bee seene, and the which I rather referre vnto a cunning mockerye of the Deuill (for Sathan mocketh in the mindes of men, and after the manner of Jugglers, maketh many sights to appeare, by the which he driueth the fearefull eyther into a vaine feare, or else vnto idolatry) then vnto the trueth of a naturall thing, if so bee also that they be done, as they seeme to bee done. The which also may hereby be vnderstoode, in that hee saith, that they are chefly seene of those, which are ignorant of the matter. For the Deuill can sooner deceaue these, as who a good season haue tossed these thinges in their mindes, and in their thoughe and power of imagination do conceaue and bring forth vnto them selues the phantasies and imaginations of such thinges, so that they thinke they see outwardlye, the thing whiche they haue imprinted and shaped in their owne brain the which is no new thing in those that are sicke of the Jandice, and in melan-

Vaine imaginations.

melancholike persons. And that such visions doe seldome or neuer appeare vnto stout men, because that by reason of their couragiousnesse they neuer feare them, or do once so much as conceaue imagination of them, Theodorus Byzantius, and after him, the most worthy Physition Iohn Wierus dooth testifie: Wherefore, if Cardanus had sayde further, that those spirites had oftnest beene seene of Children, women, fearefull tender, and sicke persons, who by reason of the weakenes of their mind and body, are troubled with continuall feare and vaine dreams, that which he saith should of me more easily be credited. But now I cannot chuse, but put it among the true tales of Lucianus. In these thinges I am to stay no longer, if I shall onely adde this one thing, that those which doe in such sorte ascribe all thinges vnto nature, doe oftentimes delight themselues in vaine with their owne errour, and doe imbrace the Image of Helena, for the Goddesse her self: when as the most of such straunge woonders are often doone by the sleightes of Deuilles (as I haue sayde) and many also rather by god his miracles, whereof men can yeelde no reason, then by any naturall cause. Cardanus therfore a most learned

De præstig. dem 2. ca 24. Hip. de virg. morb.

learned man must pardō my beeing against him in this poynt, for as much as by his own testimonie, it is alwayes lawfull to doubte of a generall trueth, howe good soeuer the man be that affirmeth the same.

And whereas I sayde that the Churchyardes are to be placed towards the North, it hath the same cause, the which hath beene alleaged for the building of the plague houses. For the wind which bloweth from this parte, with his thinnesse and purenesse, dooth easilye consume and scatter abroade all thicke and troublesome vapours, and cleanseth the ayre. Wherefore he wil not bringe anye infectious smell, or hurtefull breath into the Citie, the which wee haue proued to be vsuall to rise out of such places.

The northwind

Furthermore, although it be but a very small matter: yet that all the circumstances may be agreeable vnto the nature of the thing, it must bee made of a rounde, and not square, or any other figure, and compassed with a stone wall. Why so? whether because this figure of al other is the most capable? or beecause it is the moste perfecte? When as all other are founde in this? Verelye for both causes, but ỹ former is of lesse force,

The figure of the churchyard round.

the

the latter hath a more fine signification. For when as oftentymes many are to bee buryed, chiefly at that tyme, it shall bee profitable, that the space be large, leaste wee bee driuen to breake vp and open some graues that are not verye olde, and to make bare corses half rotten, which wil be euil fauoured and lothsom, and bringeth danger of infecting the ayre. The roundnes of ỹ figure betokeneth perfection, both that which they that lye there, haue already receiued, & that also which they yet looke for. In which consideration the heauen it selfe is rounde, and those which we reckon for saints, and which are appoynted vnto blessed eternitie & euerlastingnes, vnto the same we are woonte to paint a round figure. For there is no end of the circle or spere. It may also signifie, that which the Greekes say: Al things belonging vnto man, are as it were a round circle. For whē as al things ẅ are vnder heauen, do after a sort frame them selues vnto ỹ first mouing of the firmament, going from lyfe it selfe as from the East, vnto death, as vnto the West, they finish their circle with the motion of the whole heauen: like as hee which is returned frō whence he went forth, is sayde to haue ended his course and circle.

Al things after a sort may be said, to followe the mouing of the heauens.

Here-

These misteries of this section may most of the happily seeme more curious then needefull.

Hereunto also appertaine the grates of yron before the doore of the Church yardes, and the doores or gates, when as they are opened, falling to againe of their owne accord, and shutting themselues, that the bruite beastes cannot come into them.

But now it is time, that making an end of this Chapiter of the place, situation, figure, and ornamentes of common buryall, I goe vnto other matters of greater weight, then those of which we haue hitherto intreated.

Of the cleansing of houses, and things infected.

Cap. 6.

IT followeth therefore in order, that when as the sicke, and those suspected, whiche haue beene with them, haue nowe eyther beene carryed out, or the dead buryed, wee speake some thing of the cleansing of the houses, and of such thinges as are in them. For this industrie or paine taking seemeth to serue for many thinges, naye without the which

which all other labours are taken in vayne, and the mischief doth eftsoones grow again, yea after long resting, taking againe as it were new strength, dooth sometime rage more fiercely, then at the beginning. For truely without al question, it is a thing worthy the wondring at, why oftentimes so many men die in one house, in the which some body hath died of the Plague. The which thing, when as none of vs doubte to happen through the poysoned ayre of ỳ infected place, we muste altogether folow the practize of the olde Testamente, when as the leprye vsuall vnto that time accustomed to cleaue not onely in bodyes, but also in garments, sheetes, walles, and other partes of the house, so that those things were not only to be washed, but also sometimes to be burned. In like manner (I say) we muste deale here, when as the poyson of the Plague is no lesse woont to infect al things, and many times hideth it self in the chincks and wals, and lyeth hid many years doing no hurt, vntil that getting an occasiõ to do harm, it breaketh forth with great force, and infecteth as many as come with impure bodies, and take in the same by their mouth, or other passages of their body, and ceaseth not from hurting,

before that either the subiectes fit to receyue it are remoued, or the naughtie quality of the ayre, bee sufficiently amended and scattered. So Alex. Benedictus telleth of a certayne mattres, which through the negligẽce of the seruaunts being vnwasht, and vndressed, lay cast in a corner a long tyme, and when as after seauen yeeres it was brought forth, and occupied, that which in the meane season by meanes of lying stil, and of the cold, was vnhurtfull, being stirred vppe againe with the heate of the place and of men, and drawne in by the pores or small holes of the skinne, shewed forth her poyson, to the destruction of the whole house. I recited a certaine like thing before of a lecherne garment, and diuerse other infected thinges, of which I had experience. For it is manifest and vndoubted, that the pestilente ayre maye lye longe in suche places and housholde stuffe: the which, if it bee stirred vp, and get into a corrupt and impure bodye, it verye easilye kindleth. H. Cardanus indeede a manne much red in histories, telleth, how ỹ in a certaine Village called Lachiarella, neere vnto Millain, at the buryall of a certaine olde woman, there were found two chests full of lynnen cloath, and cloathing, hydden for feare

A Mattres lying seauẽ yeers in a corner.

In appen. ca. 9. li. 4. de rer. variet.

feare of warres by the space almost of thirtie yeeres. The which beeing opened when as they curiously searched, as the manner is, they found nothing corrupted in them, yet as many as were present at it, or touched & handled the thinges that were layd vppe in them, either then or afterward, dyed al within three daies. Marcilius Ficinus also affyrmeth, that wals, olde yron, and such things as be made of wood, vnlesse they be holpen and remedied by washings, perfumes, and fiers, do keepe still their infection a whole yeere, or more also. Also that garments of woollen, and such like, vnlesse they be often ayred, washed, perfumed, or be hanged by the fire, or in the winde or sunne, do remain three yeares and more, infected. You knowe (saieth he) that the smell of an hoare orange is kept many yeeres in the boxe wherein it did hoar. Likewise, that the smel of the mosse or down in ỹ silk worm cõtinueth long, such as it was before in his silk worm. Truely as oile is nourishment vnto fire, so wol is a norishmẽt vnto this infection, & doth so nourish it, that it doth not onely preserue it, but also increase & strenthẽ it. Also in an other place: As cõcerning (saith he) the disposition of the onely ayre, hee vnderstandeth the common

De Epid. ca. 24. 25.

Woll keepeth the infection a long time.

and not the priuate ayre) onely speedy taking is sufficient: so when as al men, who soeuer they are, haue remayned three monethes free from this sickneſſe, it may be iudged, that the ayre is now purged. But bee thou moſte warye in comminge neere vnto, or in touchinge of thoſe thinges, which holde the infection faſter then the ayre dooth. The boughtes of fornaces or ouens in walles doe keepe the infected qualitie longer then wood. Wherefore all thinges are diligently to be purged, with fires, washinges, ayering, purfuminges, ſmels &c. Men for the moſte parte are cleanſed in the ſpace of 14. dayes. Houſes, woodden thinges &c. in 21 dayes: cloathes, garmentes, and ſuche like in 28. dayes. Horſes, money, houſhold, fardelles, and ſuch like, vnleſſe you deale merueilous warily, are woont to keepe the infection a long ſeaſon. Wherefore bee thou watchfull, warye and wiſe, and prouide for all thinges in order.

Alex. Ben. l de peſt. ca. 3.

These thinges hitherto in a manner hath Marſilius Ficinus, at the ende of whiche woordes, that I may beginne, I doe by all meanes exhorte and admoniſhe our Preſer-

uers

uers also, vnto whome I muste returne agayne, that they vse especiall wisdome in this poynte, and diligentlye prouide for all thinges in order. And firste, that they giue commaundement, as I haue sayde, by whome this cleansinge must be doone, and secondlye, howe it ought to bee doone.

Who ought to be appointed Cleusers.

Wherefore, if they bee yet alyue, and in health, whiche were lefte in the infected houses, this charge muste be committed vnto them, a threatning and penaltie beeing sette vppon their negligence. But if the house be cleane ridde of men, this businesse must bee doone by those, whome wee before haue named Buriars, Carryars forth, and Sockers or Dressers and layers forth of the dead. And these firste of all muste open the doores and windowes, that the winde may passe through more freelye. Secondlye, they muste make fiers of conuenient matter, as of Oke, Juniper, Beach, Willowe, &c. that the ayre of the whole house maye bee purged. Thirdlye, if there bee anye thinges of small valewe, as of cloathes, garment, and linnes of little worth, they must eyther cast it into the riuer, or burne it in a place by it selfe out

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of the company of men. Fourthly, touching settles, tables, garmẽts of some price, cloths, beds, &c. they must not onely wash them with a special care, but also soak them in lie, beat them, and hange them out on breathing in the aire: For if it be not so done, it is to be feared, least the infection be not sufficiẽtly vanished away, and least that within short time after it reuiue againe. The wals also must be scraped with tooles of yron for the purpose, and be done ouer with new lime, & whited. Fiftly the whole house must be oftẽ purged with perfumes of the dried leaues of Oke, or beries and woods of Iuniper, or frãkensence, or such other like smelling things. 4 6 Sixtly, when as they haue doone al these things, with such painfulnes, order and diligence, as I haue sayde, they must at length strowe all the flooers with sweete hearbes, as with Sage, Isop, Lauender, Feuerfew, Basil, Rue, Spike, Rosemary, Roses, Water lilly, Violets, Vine leaues, and Willow leaues, &c. according vnto the time of the yeere, the which particularly here to sette downe is needelesse. And all these thinges ought farre more diligently and painfully to be done in those dwellings which are vnder the earth: because that whilest there is here

no

no free vent, they do much longer keepe, the hidden and imprinted infectious poyson of the Plague, then those which are in an open and free ayre.

Of keeping of those, which haue beene in infected houses.

Cap. 7.



What order is to be taken for those whiche haue beene in companye with the sicke of the plague, albeit I haue made some mention hereof before, yet in this place something is to be said thereof againe, and that more expressly, for it seemeth not to be conuenient, ỳ they should goe euery where vp and downe at their pleasure, or occupy their cõmon trades, setting opẽ their houses streight after the dead corses are caryed to burying. Therefore they either haue beene with them of necessitie, as housholde seruaunts, which tended vpon the sicke, and Phisitions, Chirurgians, Preachers, which applyed medicines vnto the bodye and soule, and briefly others that carried forth ỳ dead to burying: or

Those that once or twise haue visited the sick of the plague.

elſe they were with them not of neceſſitie, as thoſe which came not vnto them daylye, but by the way peraduenture once or twiſe to ſee them. Theſe if they vſe ſome dilygence in cleanſing their bodyes and garments, it ſhall be ſufficient onely for the ſpace of 14. dayes to keepe them ſelues within their owne houſes, if ſo be that no woꝛſe thing haue followed. But they which haue doone the office of Phiſition & Chirurgian, it hath beene already ſet downe, that theſe ought to refraine the companye of other men the whole time of the Plague. The houſholde, and ſuche as haue daylye kept companye with the ſicke in one houſe, haue need of a longer time to cleanſe them. But if yee be minded to giue them leaue to go abꝛoad, neuertheleſſe foꝛ the auoydinge of infection, they muſte be foꝛbidden publike Churches and other aſſemblies, vnleſſe they openly carry with them a little ſtaffe, oꝛ white wand, as a token of the plague, and that notwithſtanding they diligently ſhun ỹ companye of the ſound. If any ſhall refuſe ſo to doe, they are to bee puniſhed by a ſharpe decree of the Pꝛeſeruers, that foꝛ the ſpace of ſixe whole weekes, they venture not to goe out of theyꝛ houſes, yet ought they

they much more streightly to bee kept in, who themselues haue had the Plague, although nowe they bee neuer so much healed of it. For in such a cleansing there needeth the space of two mouethes. But they of all other most streightly, which presently yet now haue the Plague: of the cleansing of whome what ought to bee decreed, because they haue yet nowe to wrastle with death, it cannot bee set downe. For albeit they be for the most part weaker, then that they can goe abroade out of their houses, yet it sometimes falleth out, that the sickenesse graunteth them truce for certaine dayes, when as the poyson cannot goe so speedily vnto the principall members, nor take the Castle of life, being letted either by the thickenesse of the bodie, or by the naturall strength of the bowels, or elsby the lesse or weaker qualitie of the disease. These then are wont willingly to shufle in themselues among the assemblies of men, led either by a certaine simple errour, for that they thinke, that they thē selues shalbe deliuered, if they can rub their disease vpon others. For such wit hath the olde Diuell the master of mischiefe to indue men with false beliefe, and (as the common people saith) to turne the wheele, promising

Such as haue had the plague.

vaine hope of health: or els they are led by errour ioyned with lewdnesse: that is, with a mind to commit a most notorious and cruel offence, namely, to infect and kill many other with them. For some are of so pestilent a minde, that they farre exceed the pestilence of the body. He that hath not had some experience in the worlde, nor seene the townes of many men, nor knowen the minde, will scant giue credite vnto my wordes: but in truth I can boldly auouch, that I haue seene with these eyes, them, who, when as they haue had the feare running vpon them, so that they could not doubt of the sickenesse, haue thrust themselues into the Church, & secretly haue together with others receiued ỹ bread of the Lorde, and out of the same cup haue drunken the wine of the Lord: I tremble at the telling of it, albeit at that time there ensued hurt vnto none thereby: the Lord doubtlesse so prouiding, who doth deliuer vs from all euill. But who woulde not thinke suche fellowes rather Diuels (I speake with M. Luther) then men? Or at the least wise to bee most pestilent men, then whom the pestilence it selfe is more gentle? And as priuie murtherers, doe one while thrust these into the hearte with a dagger, and another while

A pestilent kinde of people.

while these, the which it is not knowen vnto whome it may bee laide, so these most notorious infected murtherers, and mad dogs, do here infect a boy, there a man or a womā. And when according to their power they haue infected all things, they prate that their faulte is to bee laide vnto none but vnto the will of God. And they reioyce and laugh in their sleeue, as if the matter were well done, when as they heare of the miseries of others, of the whiche they themselues were causes. O most cruell poysoning: the which ought by no meanes to remain vnpunished, nay is worthie eyther of equall or also of greater punishment then the murthers of common robbers. Cardanus telleth howe that it happened at Casalis a Citie of Salassia in the yeere 1536. that certaine conspired together (namely foure men and women togeather with the hangmān) that they would make annoyntment, wherewith they would annoynt the barres of doores, that they which touched them, might bee infected: and would also make a powder that being secretely sprinkled vpon the garmentes of men, shoulde worke their destruction: (the plague had been extreeme in that place a little before,

De varietate rerum 15. cap. 8.

and

and nowe was ceased) but their conspiracie beeing founde out, they were all put to death with singuler torments. They confessed also, that they had determined at a solemne pomp vpon a certaine Saint his day, by annoynting the seates to slay all the Citizens, & that they had prepared aboue twentie pottes for this purpose. They attempted the same also sometimes at Geneua, and were executed. And is the facte of these I pray you more haynous, then of those who I haue spoken? Or who woulde thinke that men baptized with the Baptisme of Christe, and ordeined vnto the kingdome of God, could fall into so great a wickednesse? Who had not rather liue among beastes, then in one Citie with such altogether vnworthy of the names of men? Wherefore it behoueth our Preseruers to bee stout punishers of so great enormitie or disorder; that for the common safetie of the societie and fellowship, they suffer not such priuie enemies and wicked traitours to goe scotfree, after the example of moste worthie common wealthes, of which there hath been mention made.

The dutie of such as be recouered of the Plague.

Further they which haue been sicke of the Plague, and nowe are somewhat recouered,

uered, ought volũtarily to admonish others, to shunne their companie, for when as they, being in this miserie haue been courteously holpen, hauing now recouered health they ought againe to consider, that they driue not others into the same miserie, the which were a tricke of most vnthankfull persons. If God himselfe (saith Luther) in the old Testament commaunded, that the Lepers shoulde bee put apart without the Citie frõ the companie of the people, for the auoiding of infection, and that they shoulde not be receiued again vnlesse they were iudged cleãsed, it behoueth vs much more in this dangerous infection to followe the same: neither in this case may we be vnruly and disobedient, &c. For I haue before rehearsed more, spoken Christianly by him to this purpose. In the which, to speake freely, albeit the counsaile of seperatiõ do greatly like me, yet do I not thinke this opiniõ to be allowed of al, in the cause, wherin this danger in the infectiõ of ỳ Leprous is thought to consist (vnlesse peraduenture this sometime happen for the contempt of God his commandemente: for their companie was very streightly forbidden) into the mention of whiche thyng because I am fallen againe, and haue often before

The lepre of the olde testament.

before spoken of it, I will not refuse to repeate it againe in fewe wordes. For first it is not certaine that the Lepzie of the olde testament was a disease, hurting the actions of nature, or curable by any counsaile or remedie of man: nay in the opinion of S. Augustine, it was rather a defiling and vncleanesse, in deede not common, but especially sent by God, then a disease of the body, and (as hee speaketh) rather a blemish of the colour and skin, then of health, or of soundenesse of the senses and members. Wherfore the Scripture also doth oftner vse the worde of cleansing then of healing, when as it speaketh of the curing of this griefe. And in my iudgement certaine famous Phisitions doe very well distinguishe this our Lepzie, whiche is called of the Greekes, Elephantiasis, from that of the Hebrews, which of thē is named Saharath, and of the whiche mention is made in Leuiticus and in the Euangelists. For this disease (say they) is not of them, which throwe errour are wont to happen in sire not naturall thinges, where as it is indeede a griefe proceeding from the wrath of GOD, whiche according to the

De ciuit. dei.

Amat. Lusi.

nature

nature of the sinne is wont to happen not onelye vnto the bodyes of menne, but also vnto garmentes, and the walles of houses, in the which those transgressours dwelled: according to the greatnesse (I say) of the faulte. For if the fault were small, certaine small spottes dyd aryse in the walles of the house: if it were greater, they did cleave vnto garments: but if it were a most greate sinne, then the bodie of the sinner was defiled with the same. And those that were suspected of this Lepzie, were iudged of the hygh Priest by the space of fourteene dayes, whether they were to bee shutte out of the companie of men or no. For there was no neede of the helpe of man to the curing of the same, but onely of the hande of GOD. All which this (lyke as manie other) are nowe ceased.

But concerning this our Elephantiacall Leprie, which doth moste greatlie differ from this other, this is manifeste out of the bookes of Phisitions, and nature of the same, ỳ it is a disease comming of the fault of the bowels, & humours, very fierce and

Elephantiasis, or Leprie of our time.

and as it were a canker of the whole bodie: the which in times past (as histories report) was peculiar vnto Ægypt: and not seene in Italie before the age of Pompeius Magnus. What? that euen at this day it is more seldome in Italie, then in our countrie of Germanie, or the lowe countries of Belgia neere vnto it, or in Fraunce: the which some write to happen vnto the one, because of their vnsodden meates, and vnto the other by reason of the constitution or qualitie of the ayre: but howe truly, see they, whiche make themselues so readie arbitrers, and as it were vmpiers in weightie causes and controuersies. For Galen thinketh that it is seldome seene in Germanie, often in Alexandria, looking peraduenture vnto his times: I with Amatus Lusitanus doe rather ascribe it vnto their ill maner of diet. For they indifferently & without any choise or order feede on fish, podware, some fruits, milke, and white meates. The Lepre called Elephantiasis is described by Plinie after this maner, that it is saide oftentimes to begin at the face, first in the nose, as it were a little Lentill, anone going ouer the whole bodie, spottie, of diuers colours, and the skin vnequall, in some place thicke, in some place

Ant. Be. de abd. morb. cau, cap. 98.

Lib 2. ad ad Glauc.

Nat. histo. 26, cap. 1.

place thin, with an hard or rough scab, & last of all increasing and eating the flesh to the bones, the fingers and toes swelling both in handes and feete. This is the definition of Plinie. That manner of curing is chiefly cõmended by Galen, whiche is done by the vse of Vipers flesh: the whiche I my selfe also in Italy, haue heard to bee commended by most excellent Phisitions, and haue seene also fitly vsed. But these thinges are not for this place. But this hereout appeareth, that there is a great difference betweene the Elephantiasis, that is the Lepri of this time, & that, when in the old testament was an especiall punishment of sinners, both as concerning their nature, and manner of curing: the whiche Leonhardus Fuchsius hath also obserued in his Paradoxis: but not in like sort Franciscus Valleriola in his medicinall enarrations.

Gal. II. fac. med. simp.

Lib. 7. ca. 16.

Lib. 6. cap. 5.

But some man will obiect: yet both of them must be infectious, when as both that are infected with thẽ, are separated from the company of men. I aunsweare, what if there bee not in them both the like cause of separation? For peraduenture they were for this cause separated among our auncetours from other men, because it was a foulenesse and

Obiection.

Answeare.

certaine filthinesse that God woulde not abyde in his people: as whiche it behooued to excell in the cleannesse as well of bodye as of mynde: or for that they whiche were defiled with these spottes, shoulde sustayne some punishement: to witte, that both they shoulde abstayne from the company of others, & others likewise from theirs: which thing in the iudgement of some was an Image of our excommunication at this daye, whiche they commonlye call bannition or abannition, that is absence for one yeere. But our Leprous are herefore remoued from the companie of men, because they haue a disease both grieuous and also infectious: Albeeit to speake as I thinke, I doe not iudge the infection to bee so greate, as manie doe suppose. Nay rather in my iudgement that disease is more infectious, whiche in our tyme wee call the Frenche pockes, because of eyther the beginning or propagation and spreading from thence, and the whiche Ioan. Manard. iudgeth to bee a kynde of Elephantiasis, but not truelie in my iudgement: albeeit that it bee not so daungerous, especially at this daye, when as the force thereof wareth weaker by lyttle and little, so that wee maye hope that it will

Gord. par. 1. cap. 22.

Epist. lib. 7. Epist. 2. Iac. Syl. in præfa. Isag. nat. hist. 26. ca. 1.

will at length cease altogether, as of the letter whiche Plinie mentioneth, there remayneth at this daye no tokens. But as concerning the Elephantiacall lepri, I haue often diligently enquired of them, whiche were diseased with it, but I coulde seldome vnderstande that anye was infected by their companie, albeit those that are sounde are often conuersaunt with them, nay (that which is more woonder) albeit the sicke husbandes vse the company of their sound wiues, & some times beget sounde children: which shoulde be incredible, if the force of the infection were so great, as it is thought of many for to bee. Whiche thinges sithence they be so, and yet neuertheless they are put apart from the company of other and that with greate carefulnesse, for what daunger soeuer of infection, or at least wise suspition of infectiõ: I say agayne that whiche I haue often sayde alreadye, that there muste farre more care be vsed in the infection of the Plague. But these thinges peraduenture may seeme more at large debated then was meete: whiche the indifferent Reader will easilye pardon mee, if he shall consider that it is not vnprofitable, that sometimes wee bee put in minde of sundrye matters. For this thinge stirreth vp

Leonh. Zac. 9. in Rha. ca. de phthis.

wise men to a more diligent searching out of trueth: which trueth, as Pythagoras saide, is drowned and hidden in a most deep well.

An admonition vnto euerie subiect of the common wealth, to imploye his seruice to keepe away the common daunger of infection by the plague.

Cap. 8.

BVt peraduenture there will not some bee wanting, who with discontented minds wil speake against these our constitutions or orders, eyther for that through lack of iudgment they cannot throughly weigh and vnderstand the matter, or for because they cannot away with such counsaile, whereby they perceiue thēselues to be brought into order: for the common sort vseth to be vnwilling to beare all yoke. But these are foorthwith to haue their answeare. As for those who perswade themselues that the Plague cōmeth alwayes immediately from God as a peculiar and immediate whip, and therefore attribute nothing vnto the helpe of man, I can do

Such as thinke the Plague to come alwayes immediatly from God.

no

no more but counsaile these, to suffer themselues to be better instructed. Such as can abide no order setting themselues openly against our Preseruers, and will vrge or bee earnest for their olde custome & liberty, these I would altogether haue admonished, to consider, that they alone are not heere prouided for, but also their wiues, children & kinsfolke, yea the whole society and fellowship. What barbarousnes then shoulde it be, to be vnwilling for a small time to beare that which thou mayst safely doe, to the ende thou mayest bee deliuered from it, which if it happē vnto thee, thou canst not beare but with the hazarde of thy life? Woe to, who would not willingly in the time of warre, or in the besieging of a citie, suffer to haue some newe lawes, but yet necessary for that state, by the Senate, or Lieuetenant of the souldiers, to be prescribed vnto him, by the which he vnderstandeth that both his goods and life, and also his countries mens may be defended and preserued? May who would not labour with all his might & mayne to keepe away the enemy from his borders, if he be absent: or to thrust him out if he be entred the citie? Who in a common ouerflowing of water, will not take paynes to keepe and mainteine the bayes, to streng-

Le. Lem. 2. de occul. nat. mir. cap. vlt.

then houses, to deliuer cattell, to helpe men swimming, to giue if it bee but a boyde to them that are like to bee drowned, if hee can doe no more? Who woulde not run and help the sheep, if the Wolfe somewhere breaking into the folde, shoulde teare the flocke? Who (I saye) is indued with so cruell an heart, which in these miseries wold not both with hande and foote, so farre as hee were able, bring ayd in things going thus to wrack and ruine? Who of tendernesse coulde with a quiet minde beholde these miseries of his neighbours? O heart altogether deuoyde of all humanity, and as hard as the Adamant, or rather bruitish, that in this case thinketh that there is anye place for slouth and sluggishenesse? Bruite beastes helpe one an other, and that readilye, if anye trouble befall them from others: and shall manne that hath his name of manhoode (whiche woorde conteyneth in it all kinde of duetie) for the reteining of an vnprofitable libertie in the greeuous affliction of a whole Citie, not be content to haue commendable, commodious, necessary lawes, yet not perpetuall, but temporall, prescribed vnto him? And according to the equitie of these lawes to haue the

common

common wealth, and the safetye and lyfe of his fellowes mainteyned: But (saye they) the examples whiche you bringe are vnlyke: because GOD is the Authour of the Plague, but men, or other creatures are the Causers of these. As though anye thing came to passe without the prouidence of God, yea or without his diuine decree. As if there were anie euill in the Citie, whiche God hath not done. Objection. Answeare. Amos 7.

But these thinges in tymes paste haue beene handeled by vs. Goe too, if we see anye manne to bee pressed with hunger, doest thou not thinke that by the commaundement of GOD we are bounde to giue him meate: Albeeyt hee bee a Turke, albeeit hee bee an Heathen, albeeit hee bee our enemie: Howe muche more then doe wee owe this duetye vnto our brethren, our neighboures, our citizens, whose helpe wee canne neuer bee without: Nowe if wee withdrawe our helpe from those whiche are in suche sorte in neede, bee wee not murtherers before God: Saynt Iohn sayeth, hee that loueth not his neighboure, committeth murther, and that loue doth not remayne in him. And such was one of the sinnes whiche GOD

layde against Sodome, as Ezechiel saieth, Behold these are the sinnes of thy sister Sodome, idlenes, riot, not regarding of her neighbour. After the self same sort shal Christ say at the last iudgement: I was an hungred and ye gaue me no meate, I was sicke, and ye did not visite me, and if then it be so great a fault, to denie meate, or not to visite the sicke, how much more great a fault shall it be, not to take away according to our power as it were present death and destruction? I wold to God that with these prattlers and contemners of the publike safetie, the counsell of the most excellent and noble M. Luther might finde place, who so wisely, so godly, and finally, so carefully perswadeth al kinde of helpes to bee vsed, which by anye meanes may profit: and will by no meanes haue any thing omitted, which any way may quench such a fire. So behaue thy self (saith he) as one that is desirous to quench a common fire in a citie. For what els is the plague, then a certaine fire, which doeth not consume and deuour wood or chaff, but the life and bodie? Therefore euery one of vs ought thus for to thinke: if Satan by the will of God, either by him selfe or his ministers hath wrought vs this

Luther.

The Plague is a fire.

this deadlie infection, I on the other ſide before all thinges will praye vnto God, that of his mercie hee will take away the ſame from vs: Then I wil put to my ſimple helping hande, both by perfuming and cleanſing of the ayer, both by vſing of medicines, & alſo in ſhunning the infection, where my preſence is not neceſſary, leaſt I might ſeeme my ſelfe to haue neglected ſome thing, or be cauſe of death vnto others, who through my negligence may take harme. But if God neuertheleſſe will haue me viſited with this ſickneſſe, or cal me out of this world vnto him, at leaſt wiſe I haue done that whiche was my duetie, neither haue offended any thing, either againſt my ſelfe, or my neighbour. But where my ſeruice is needefull, there I will let paſſe nothing of all thinges which either can or ought to bee done of mee. Beholde this is that godlie faith indeede, whiche doeth nothing raſhly, neither tempteth God in anie thing. Thus muche in a manner after this ſort hath Luther, but in Dutche. Therfore if ſuche wiſedome and fidelity were ſeen firſt in the Magiſtrate, then in the Citizens, truely the Plague would bee muche

more tollerable. But wheras the one are too rashe and carelesse, & the other contrariwise too feareful, there Sathan easily at his pleasure tosseth all things vp side down, and the misery doeth so farre daylie increase, that at the length there is a pitiful plight of ỹ whole citie. For traffick wareth cold, there groweth a dearth of al things, the Churche assemblies cease, charity is in leopardy, al things are suspected, & as the Poet saith, The wandring gueſt doth stand in dãger of his host, the host in daunger of his gueſt, & fathers of their sonne in lawes, yea seldom time doeth rest betweene borne brothers suche accorde and loue as ought to be. Due honor is giuen neither vnto the magistrate, nor vnto parents, al discipline is neglected. Nothing but trembling, despaire, crying of yõg children, a noyse of women, weeping, mourning, sorow, feare, dying of families, falsifying or staying of testaments and willes, confusion of inheritaunces, wasting of the Citie, decay of the common wealth, & to conclude, nothing is heard or seene but al kinde of miserie. All which things they ought worthilie to set before their eyes, which doe so little esteem of this cause, ỹ they wil beare nothing, no not for a small time onelie, for the sake thereof

Miseries that happen in the time of a common Plague.

thereof, the which is both easie to be done, & vnhurtfull, nay profitable for them: but either vnder colour of religion, whose force they knowe not, or through rebellion they despice commendable & profitable lawes to the common wealth: and vnthankfully reiecte those, which giue thē healthful counsel with greate trauaile, and faithful carefulnes, whiche they may vse & cost them no money: vnto whose ignorauunce notwithstanding in respect of the publike profite, our Preseruers ought in no case to yeeld: but rather ought to follow that excellent counsel of Hippocrates, that they constauntly follow and continue in the same, which at the beginning they haue by graue aduice thought most expedient.

Let euery man thinke these thinges to be sayde vnto him eyther in my name, or in the name of the Preseruers, and earnestlye indeuour faithfullye to helpe his distressed Countrey. Whiche if hee doe not, let him feare punishment both at the handes of God and men.

Of

Of the punishement of such as rashly offend.

Chap. 9.



Therefore, because that hitherto we haue set downe what is needefull to bee done, neither haue let passe any thing ẏ by reason might be saide, or is appertaining profitably vnto the matter: and also haue exhorted all men diligently and earnestly vnto the obseruation or keeping of these constitutions or orders, it now followeth, that if any man be found slacke or vnfaithful in his office, that he, the cause being knowen, suffer punishmẽt according vnto the greatnes of the fault. For what shall it profite to haue made many good lawes, if they be not kept? And they wil not be kept, vnlesse there be due punishment vpõ the offenders. For such as are good, will of their owne accorde doe all those things whiche are best. For the law is not made for the iust, but for transgressors or offenders. The Magistrate also carrieth not the sword in vaine,

bayne, but is a feare vnto those that do euil. There is one hath sayd very well, ỹ no common wealth can stande without lawes, that lawes are worth nothing, if there be no action: and that al action is in vaine, if there bee no execution. Let vs therefore beginne at the beginning, and let vs see, what penalty is to be set downe to euery one that shall rashelye breake the lawes of these ordinaunces, the which I protest that I feare not to make, if I shoulde be in daunger to loose my life for the same.

First of all concerning the Preseruers themselues, albeit they shalbe the rulers and ouerseers of these lawes, yet they ought not to claime vnto themselues more liberty, then the highest Emperor his maiesty it self wold haue vnto himselfe: who although he cõfesse himselfe to be aboue the lawes: yet he saith ỹ he wil obey & be subiect vnto the lawes. And truly equity doth require, that looke what euery man ordeineth vnto others the same also he beare himself. It is ỹ saying of Isocrates, that the common people willingly folow the same which they see their rulers to be deligh-ted withal. Therfore let the Preseruers by al meanes indeuor to maintein their authority, & let them labour not only in name, but also in deede

The Preseruers.

L. Worthy voyce. cod. de legib. Item L. princeps ff. de legib.

deede to be Preseruers of health, and from their heartes to procure the common safety. But if either they thēselues shal do any thing negligētly, or of fauour (which in ỹ iudgmēt of the very heathē becōmeth not a magistrat) beare with others: by the decree of ỹ Senate or whole benche, whiche thing will procure them infamie, let them be put from their office, and be brought into the order of common Citizens.

Phisitions, Chirurgians, Apothecaries.

Phisitions, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, if they commit any thing through ouersight, whiche men neuer knowe of (for oftentimes such things may happen) let them know that they shall haue God a reuenger. But if they shalbe foūd guilty of some light fault, let thē recompence it with greater diligence. They which cannot doe all thinges so handsomely and skilfully as only ỹ most excellēt Phisitions cā do, they are cleared by the law it selfe. For it is alwaies a hard thing to attaine vnto that which is rightest, neither can wee all bee Hippocrateses or Galenes. As for such as haue made an open fault, that is of grosse & purposed ignorāunce, haue offended in that the whiche for the most part all men of their calling woulde haue done otherwise, and better, let them sustayne some arbitrary penal

L. lat. L. mag. ff. de ver. & re. sig.

naltie according to the pleasure of the magistrate, which may consist either in putting thē out of office, or abridging of their stipēd, or finallye in impayring their estimation and good name. Other faults are left to be punished according vnto ý imperial lawes or constitutions & statutes of princes. In the meane season both these and the ministers of the Church that followe, must absteine from the company of others, or els sustaine an arbitrary punishment.

The ministers of the Churche, who are the Phisitions of the soules, cannot easily offend in their office, if they bee desirous from their heart to be that which they are called, & shewe not thēselues slow vnto any, nor haue respect of persons, which doth at no hand beseeme them. Wherefore publike crimes excepted, if they shal do any thing negligently, or not behaue themselues godly, we will leaue them to be punished vnto God the vncorrupt iudge, & searcher of things, and of the heart, or at the most suspend them from their office, and in the meane season take from them a monethes wages. *Ministers.* *Pro.15.*

Among the Citizens, whosoeuer shall be found a breaker or transgressor of ý order appoynted, let him haue punishement according *Citizens.*

ding

ding vnto the nature of his fault. If any man be found drunken, he is to be punished either by some publike shame, or forfeyture of monie, obseruing the circūstance of persō, occasiō, oftennes, & greatnes. They that shall daunce, trim vp or goe vnto publike bathes, or be married, shall haue some smal punishement: but if they get a speciall priuiledge, no punishment at al. For there may such causes fal out, why some thing may be graunted vnto some, the which ought not commonly to be done vnto all.

Drunkards.

Daūcers.

They that shal aduenture to bring into the city, & to sel things forbiddē, are worthily to be punished with the losse of ỹ thinges thēselues. The same punishmēt is to be laid vpon ỹ buiers, if they yet now haue w̄ thē the things hole & vntouched: otherwise let the punishement be equal vnto the price of the things.

Sellers and buyers of things vnlawful.

Inst. de re. diuis. § cum in alieno solo.

Hee that is founde selling of profitable things, as meats, or drinks, in any other place then in the place appoynted, let him beare the losse of all that he setteth to sale.

Whosoeuer of his owne priuate authority shal couetously increase the price of thinges saleable aboue that is resonable, or aboue the appoynted rate, let him be vnder the punishment of vnlawful vsuries, and for a time forbidden

Sellers aboue the tinted rate.

bidden to occupie any more.

Whosoeuer shal not put away beasts forbidden, nor carry away the filth which they make, let him bee punished with a certaine summe of money: but if he throw it into the publike streete, let him bee punished double, and neuertheleſſe compelled to carry it out of the Citie on his owne charges. If he shal forslow it, let the punishment bee increased according to the number of euerie day: or els let it bee caused by the officers to be carryed away vpon his double charges. Penalty for not remouing of cattell and their filth.

Dogs, cats, goates, &c. which seuerally belong to euerie man, vnleſſe he keepe them at home, let him pay an arbitrarie summe of money: and let it bee lawful for euery one ỳ taketh them, to kill or keepe them, vnleſſe it may be proued to be done without the negligence of the owner. Horſes, if they breake out of the stable, and run away, must bee restored vnto ỳ owner. For such are not wont to runne vp and downe. Dogs, cats, &c.

If any either stranger or citizen comming from infected, or suspected places, haue not a testimoniall of health, & of the soundnes of the things that he bringeth with him, let him bee shut out: and if he shall priuilie come into ỳ citie, let him suffer ỳ losse of his things. Commers from places infected.

and concerning himselfe being punished let him be put backe for a time, or els shut out for altogether.

Keepers of gates.

The keeper of the gates whiche shall receiue any comming from a strange place wout a testimonial of health, if he do it wittingly, let him for certaine daies bee imprisoned: but if he do it vnwittingly, as it may come to passe in a multitude passing by, yet he is to be punished with some money penalty. The same is to bee ordeined concerning Inkeepers, and such as lodge strangers.

Commers out of infected houses.

Whosoeuer after the prohibition of the Preseruers shal dare to go out of any house infected with the plague without an appointed mark, shalbe punished with a money punishment: but if noted with some marke, he shall rashly goe into other folkes houses, or thrust himselfe into the companie of mē, let him want libertie to goe out afterwardes, or let him bee carried into the Plague houses. The same is to be ordeined against thē, whiche go out of one plage house into another.

Contemners of Phisicke.

He ẏ being in health or sick shal contemne Phisick, let him be cōdēned of stubbornes, & counted as an heretike: vnto whō also afterwards, lesse benefit & dutie is due frō others, nay he shalbe counted vnworthie the fellowshiẏ

ship of Citizens. For he hath tempted God, & with the rebellious Iewes required myracles, when as without myracles he might haue had experiẽce of the grace of God.

Whosoeuer shal affirme, ỳ it is lawful for chyristiãs in the time of ỳ plague without a lawful cause, & consent of the rulers, to leaue his citie & church, he is worthie the name of a schismatike: and if so be he so runne away, he is to be depriued of the freedome of the citie. And he ỳ shall hold euery plague to be as an immediat punishment from God, is to be cõdemned of ignorance, & to be despised as an euill speaker: as one ỳ layeth vpon God his owne rashnes, & blame of his owne rechlesse negligence.

Forsakers of their citie, &c.

They ỳ haue charge about burials, graue makers, cleansers, & such as are put in office about carrying foorth of the dead, if they refraine not thẽselues from the companie of others, as those that in houses infected haue byn of ỳ houshold (if they offend after ỳ same sort) are to be punished. If they haue at any time buried any that were not dead, as wee haue said ỳ it doth at som time happẽ, if they haue don it willingly, let thẽ be held for murtherers: but if they haue done it ignorantly, let thẽ aske god forgiuenes for their fault.

Officers about burials, &c.

Inst. de pub. Iud. §. Item lex Cornel.

If they shall steale away any thing out of houses that they had to cleanse, let them be giltie of theft: but if they haue giuen the same vnto any other, let thē be giltie of giuing of poyson, and be punished with a bodily punishment.

Goers abroade before the time prescribed, &c.

If any man before the time prescribed, shal goe out of his house without license, & thrust himself into the company of others, he shalbe bound to begin afresh the time of shutting in, & bee punished beside with an arbitrarie punishment. But if the same partie beeing infected before, and yet scarce wel recouered, or but meetly recouered, shall aduenture to doe the like, hee is to be accused of great vnthankefulnes, and to be depriued of all benefites vsuall to be done vnto him, and besides to be restrained with longer keping in. But if being now in very deede infected with the plague, he shalbe founde to haue committed this hainous offence, vpon notorious & wicked boldnes, as a murtherer, after the losse of his goods (if he be without children) let him be deliuered ouer vnto the hangman.

Let these then be the punishments of such as offend rashly: the which according vnto the circumstance of time, place, person, age, sexe, greatnes of the fault, & often cōmitting

of

of the same, the preseruers may either increase or alter. Whatsoeuer penalties or forfaitures shalbe gathered the same must be bestowed partly vpon the relieue of ỳ poore, & partly imployed vpõ the plague houses.

A regiſter or brief rehearſall, conteining the orders ſet downe in theſe two bookes,

Chap. 10.



After that hitherto wee haue ſet foorth ſuch things as we thought to appertaine vnto the office of a faithfull and wiſe Magiſtrate, in preſeruing and deliuering the common wealth from the infection in the time of the plague, and haue hãdled many things somewhat at large: it ſeemeth not amiſſe, to repeate briefly, & after ỳ maner of a regiſter, the more profitable and chiefe orders: if happily any man haue not either leiſure, or els like not to reade the whole diſcourſe: for ſo he may both the more eaſily remember thẽ, and bee leſſe wearie.

Therefore when as we ſhalbe perſuaded that it appertaineth vnto the office of the gouernours

vernours of the common wealth, not only to furnish the citie with things necessarie, but also to keepe away things hurtful & discommodious (amongst which hurtful things are especially conteined common & generall diseases, which hurt men by infection, such as chiefly the plague is) the magistrates muste beware of this, that here they giue no place to slougth or negligence, but rather with all indeuour, studie, faithfulnes, & wisdom, performe ỹ, which they shal vnderstād to cōcerne the profit and health of the whole felowship and all their subiects.

2 And first of al, ỹ they cōmand vnto their subiects a publike repētance, & together with ỹ people setting before thē amēdment of life, ỹ they set thēselues before God ỹ most bounteous & almightie, craving earnestly at his hands pardon both for theyr sinful life past, & hotly desiring aid in their present miserie.

3 Furthermore their conscience thus approued vnto god, being wel strēgthned in faith, hope, and charitie, let thē imploy all the seruice of mā, that they let passe nothing, which either reason counsaileth, or neede requireth. And because ỹ order in all things is necessarie, whether we wil do any thing that is profitable, or hinder that which is hurtful: & disorder & confusion hated of God himselfe: it

shalbe great barbarousnes, in other thinges to haue good rules, & in ỹ breaking in of diseases as it were of cruel beasts to vse no wisdome, to make no lawes agreeable vnto reason. Wherfore as the natural Philosophers do appoint vnto euery sphere of the heauen, his mouer, & as it were gouernor: & as cõmõ wealthes doe set ouer euery office a seuerall ruler: so also in ỹ care of ỹ publike health, some certaine magistrates must be ordeined, who both indeed & name must be preseruers, & by their authoritie procure all matters of this treatise, & ỹ in such order as followeth.

First, they shall prouide ỹ cõmon wealth of meet phisitions, Chirurgeãs, Apothecaries, who sufficiently furnished with a blamelesse life, & skill of things, shall attend only vpon this sicknes of ỹ plague, & shal (ỹ Apothecarie excepted) altogether abstain frõ other diseased persõs & diseases. And as these are honestly & courteously to be maintained with a reasonable stipẽd: so other runnagate strangers as greedie coxmoxãts, gaping only for their pray, are to be banished. For when as they are treacherous betraters of the life of man, vnlearned, and desperately bolde, they are easily inforced by Satã in this plight of things to any hainous offence: that whereas they ought to take away the infection, heere

being wicked persons they perswade themselues to spread and increase the same.

5 Now after the common wealth shall bee prouided of phisitions for the body (for this care in our treatise, wherin prouision is had for health, after the vniuersall purging of our cõscience, I iudge to be the chief & first) likewise they must also make inquirie for Phisitions of the soules, men approued in all points: if any (whiche thing I disuade not but wish and exhort) will vse their helpe, or instruction and comfort, which is done by words and speech: or if the time so require, the receiuing & partaking of the sacramẽts: These also must abstaine frõ the companie of others, which are not visited wᵗ this sickenesse of the Plague.

6 They must cõmaund such order to be obserued, or kept among the citizens, that all publike assemblies bee auoided, as marriages, games, dauncings, bathes, common fayres, pompous funerals or burials. Churche assẽblies may be vsed, if they be deuided into diuers places, that they come not together in great heapes, and sit close one by another. Great schooles are to bee remoued into a place & ayre more conuenient: lesser scholes, and for children, are so long to be shut vp vntill the sickues cease raging.

In thinges concerning meate and drink, to be bought and solde, this foresight is to be followed, that it bee not lawfull neyther to sell in the Citie, nor bring in what things soeuer are hurtfull, and may bring daunger of infection (and what are such, wee haue seuerally set downe in the Treatise it selfe, as occasion serued) but holsome and necessarye thinges are to be procured, and to bee solde, euery thing in his place, and at his appointed price. Manye markettes, and a reasonable price for euerye thing muste bee appoynted, according vnto the natures of the things and countryes, and abilitie of the buyars. Concerning which notwithstanding it is not easie by certaine lawes to make prouiso, or exactly enough to prescribe, but only charitie must needs appoint the measure & rule of this equitie. 7 *Theo. Tabe. de pest. ca. 8.*

Kyne, Hogges, Geese, and other filthye beastes, which doe make much stenche and vncleanneste, are not to bee suffered in the Citie, but there must bee made stables for them in some place out of the Citie, especially by some Brooke, if it may be, which maye carry away all the filth, or from whence the vncleane reekes breath not into the Citie. Because that their dounig and excrementes 8

doth greatly defile the ayre, and yeeldeth norishment vnto the infection.

9 The streetes also must be cleansed of all filth, and nothing caste in them eyther grieuous in smell, or abhominable in sight: but what kinde of such stuffe soeuer there is, it must bee caryed out of the Citie, that of the streetes there bee not made common pyuies, as it were: naye, that the whole Citie seeme not as it were a certayne filthye Iakes, which in some Cities is most shamefullye suffered. Wherefore without the Citie in places conuenient there must houses of office bee made at the charge of the common wealth, and that by a ryuer side, if there be any there, that such excrementes may bee carryed away with the force of the water, or in some open place, that they may be dried vp with the winde.

And heere the custome of the Sarmations shall nothing moue vs, who in the time of the plague vse to cast dead Dogges euery where in the streetes, to quench infection with infection. For this is barbarous, and peraduenture commodious onelye for that place. But wee must rather amend our ayre with sweete thinges: and chiefelye by makinge euerye where great and

bright

bright fiers and flames. For in a generall sickenesse the purenes of the ayre is a chiefe remedie, as Hippocrates and Galen, and all auncient wise men doe witnesse.

And the fire dooth cleanse, dyre vppe and purifie all thinges, and is vnto the ayre, as it were the Sunne, soule, and lyfe: Inso- much as looke what that notable preseruatiue Triacle dooth vnto compound bodies, that dooth fire vnto the ayre, of all simple bodyes, as in place, so also in vertue the highest elemente: the which let it be lawefull for me to speak with the leaue of Cardanus, who denyeth the fire to bee an element. And it is very pretily sayd, By howe much the ayre is better, by so much the minde is better. For men for the most part are disposed according vnto the qualitie of the ayre.

Plin. hist. nat. lib. 36. cap. vlt.

De var. rer. lib. 1.

Le. Lem. de ocul. nat. mir. 3.

Dogges also, Cattes, Goates, and other tame beastes, which are woont to runne vp and downe, and euery where to wander in the streetes, are not to be suffered, or at least wise must be kept at home, for such may cary about & bring vnto others ỹ aire of ỹ plague, albeit they them selues many times remaine vnhurt: the which is manifest both by naturall reason, and also histories worthy credit.

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Wherefore suche as cannot easilye bee kepte at home, as Cattes, it is better that they bee killed, then suffered, and in the roome of them, to vse ginnes and mouse trappes.

11 No straungers, nor Citizens which come out of infected places, are to be receyued into the Citie, without a testimoniall of health. And such testimoniales in papers sealed or written, they muste require of the Preseruers: But if this order of our pollycie be not yet receiued in some places, they then must be craued at the handes of the magistrate or Minister. Such as haue none, must keepe them selues without the Citie a conuenient time of certaine daies. For there muste greater care bee had for the publike health, then priuate wealth. That whiche I haue said of ỹ mẽ, must also be vnderstood of the thinges which they bring with them: as wares, packes, housholde, &c. For in these many tymes there doe lye great daungers. For the ayre of the plague may hange a long time in them, as it is most euidente concerning woollen garments. For wool is woont marueilously to nourish & increase this infection. And it is knowne of many lewd persons, whoe by this meanes haue scatte-

ſcattered the preſente ſickeneſſe farre and wide.

Into whoſe houſes the Plague is lighted, they forthwith by the commaundement of the Preſeruers, ought to keepe thē ſelues within, and muſt not haue leaue to go abrod, vnleſſe they goe noted with ſome eſpeciall marke, which ſhall pleaſe the Preſeruers: whereby notwithſtanding they ſhall not bee yet at libertie, to ſhuffle them ſelues into the companies of men, or to go into other mens houſes. The houſes alſo them ſelues muſt be noted with ſome markes, namelye by hanging before the doore a blacke, redde, or white ſheete: or ſetting vp of clubbes, or ſwathes of ſtraw, or torches vnlighted: al which are ſignes of ſickeneſſe or death. If any alſo of his owne accorde haue gone into ſuch houſes, in like manner hee ſhall not come abroad by the ſpace of 14. dayes, without ſome marke. The ſicke and thoſe of the houſe muſt prouide for them ſelues, the one by healing, and the other by preſeruing medicines: either vpō their own charges, which be able to beare it, or by the publike charges, which are poore. For Phiſicke is the giſte of GOD, and Phiſitions the Miniſters of God, by whoſe ſeruice the Lord many times 12

giueth

giueth health: albeit when hee wil, hee can doe it without them, which can do al things. But it is not lawfull to tempt him, neyther ought wee to aske myracles, when as without miracles, wee maye obtaine the thinge which we require.

Hereunto also appertaineth, that regard be had of women in trauell, which are not to be forsaken for feare of infection, but if they be suspected, they are faithfully to be holpen, especially of the midwiues & other women, which by a publike stipend must be hired for this purpose.

Two houses, called Plague houses must
13 be built, large inough, of sound matter, situated towards the North, of an apt forme, in some out corner of the Citie, or rather without the Cittie by the running waters side: The one for the vse of the hole, but yet suspected, and the other for the sicke: not ioyninge together, nor hindering one another in receiuing the North winde: with Chambers somewhat high, but not darkishe, with windowes open vnto the East. For the close aire is very hurtfull, of the which there haue beene seene fearefull examples. And these thinges must bee looked vnto in the beginning of the sicknes, when the number of the infected

infected is smaller. For in a great companie of sicke persons, and in an vniuersall visitation of the citie, these things will scarse be sufficient, albeit al things be well obserued.

The Magistrate, when as the necessarye persons and matters of the common wealth be prouided for, may giue leaue vnto certain to go aside, as vnto women, Children, tender persons, and old men, and other vnprofitable folke, which can doe no good, but maye doe great harm, as it vseth to be done in common burninges and firinges, or besiegings of Cities: and he that shall then departe, is not to be condemned of reproch, or forsaking of brotherlye charitie. Otherwise it is lawefull for no man to flie, especially if by famine, which is an other plague, he bee not driuen to seeke an other place. 14

But if it be plaine by euident tokens, that this punishment is sent immediately by god, without the negligence of men, and naturall causes, so farre of is it that wee shoulde flye awaye, that wee ought rather patiently to abide his fatherly correction, and humbly to pray for mitigation and slacking of the same. But euery plague cannot properlye be called the plague of God, but commeth sometimes by nature, somtimes by our negligence and

and rashnes. In such a case there is no doubt but that wee may desire and followe al holsome counsailes and remedies.

15 If there dye any (which at that time is a daily thing) they ought neither too slowely, nor too hastily to be carried forth and buried. For on both sides there is daunger and incõuenience. Wherefore a moderation and meane must be vsed. This shall be doone by such as are thereunto especially appoynted, as Burials, Grauemakers, Cleansers: who ought quietly and modestlye to execute this charge, folowing holy men in times paste, and, that which is more, the Angels of God, who themselues also sometimes did this office. It must also be done without any companies of men: and if so be that any solemnitie must be vsed, the same must be finished with as little comming together and charges as may be, least ambition and pride may seeme to be sought in death, and the old spittle of pompous funeralles or burialles be licked vp againe.

16 The Church yarde, in which they are to be buryed, must be builded without the territories of the Citie, of a conuenient largnes, in a place neither lowe nor moyst, towardes the North, of a round figure, compassed with

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a stone wall, with grates at the entry, and doores falling too of their own accord after they be opened, to keepe out cattel.

After that the Corse is carryed forth, the infected house, & al thinges in it, are with singular diligence to bee cleansed & purged, setting open the windowes, to be perfumed with fire, and the walles to be whited with lyme. Thinges of no great value are to be burnt, others to be washed in lye. Lastly, al things are to be strowed with sweet hearbs, flowers and fruites. And these things must be done by those whom we haue named Ouerseears about buryals, Cleansers, & Carryars forth to burying, or by those of the houshold, if they be there. 17

All those which are left aliue, must be by certaine lawes kept in, such in manner, as hath beene sayd of them houshold seruantes, which haue beene with the sicke. Those therfore which shal be in health among thē, if they will go abroad, must, aswell as they, carry a white rod in their hand. 18

Those which haue beene infected, and so so recouered, but yet not fully, maye not rashlye goe abroad, vntill they bee throughlye cleansed, vnto the which the space of two moneths is requisite at the least. But such as

indeede are nowe presentlye sicke of this disease, may in no case be found amongest the assemblies of men, as in the old testament it was not lawfull for the leprous to be in the company of the cleane.

These orders euery one according to his
19 abilitie and office, must indeuour diligently to obserue, as most profitable and necessarye both priuatelye for him selfe, and for the whole societie and fellowshippe. He that of conscience and religion shall be perswaded to thinke that hee resisteth the wyll of God, if by the helpe of man hee labour to auoyde his punishment, hee must suffer him selfe to bee better taught, and not to laye a snare vpon his owne conscience. But he that of slouthfulnesse or waywardnes shall contemne the publike health, let him know, that he greatly hurteth charitie, and as it were sinneth against his own body.

Last of all hee that shall bee founde slacke
20 and vnfaythfull in his office, muste bee punished accordinge vnto the qualitie of his faulte: Which punishment the Preseruers shal rule and sette downe, eyther by some penaltie of money, or of reproach, or by suspention, or deprivation from dignitie and office, or by imprisonmente, or by

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the laſte punyſhmente of putting to death.

And thus farre hath hytherto beene ſpoken of the duetie of a faythfull and wiſe Magiſtrate to be vſed in the time of the plague. Which if it ſhall ſeeme peraduenture newe vnto any man, albeit that in manye places it is not altogether vnuſuall: let him vnderſtande that wee goe about a newe woorke: Newe, I ſay, in ſome place perchaunce, or at leaſt wiſe in ſome parte newe, but yet notwithſtanding not vnprofitable, or not neceſſarye. And holſome counſayles are not therefore to bee deſpyſed, beecauſe they are newe: For all thinges, which nowe are olde, and with reaſon long agoe ordayned, were once newe. Neyther doth it followe: this is newe, therefore it is to be refuſed. For is the hande of GOD ſhortned, ſo that in our times hee cannе reueale nothing, which was not knowne of our forefathers? Do there not dayly come abroad new medicins, the vſe whereof beeing vnknowen vnto our Elders, hath beene with great fruite and profite knowen vnto vs?

All newe thinges are not to be deſpiſed.

Therefore they which iudge thus, that which is vnto anye man ſtraung and vnuſuall, the ſame by no meanes is to bee receiued and allowed: do tye the Magiſtrate vnto too

streight bandes, to cutte away from him all libertie, to take aduice vpon most weighty matters, and such as hee neuer before heard of: Far disagreeing from the counsayle of that Prince in Homer, who (necessitie enforcing) saieth Hee that can better counsayle geue, who so hee bee, now let him come, for be he young, or be hee olde, moste willingly the same I take.

When as therefore there are some Rulars ouer al offyces of the common wealth, who especiallye take charg of those things, the dooinge whereof is committed vnto them, leaste anye thinge shoulde bee doone amisse, or disorderlye: I hope that wyse Magistrates will heerein easily also agree, to receiue this newenesse into their common wealth. The whiche albeit it shall peraduenture seeme somewhat harde vnto such as are not acquainted with it: yet by vse it will waxe milde, and by the profite thereof make it selfe by litle and litle more commendable. But if quarrellars shall crye out, that I haue taken some thinges out of other Authours into this Treatise, I haue examples, by which examples I thinke it lawefull for mee to doe that, which they haue doone. Howe many thinges, naye

almost

almost al things hath Terence taken into his Commedies out of Menander: And Virgil into his poesie out of Homer, Cicero although of singuler wit & eloquence, nay the father of eloquence, was not ashamed euery where out of the Greekes, to conueigh so many things into his writings, that hee may seeme rather the Translator then Authour of some things. In the law, Phisicke, Diuinitie, the new writers haue almost nothing, or very little, the which they haue not taken from the olde: out of whose bookes also they are not afraide to write out many thinges worde for worde, and to stuffe them in their workes for the maintenance of their cause, albeit sometimes not without suspition of falshood. And these thinges they often do in the same matter which hath sometimes beene handeled before by others: with how much more right I then who doe handle a matter not perhaps so verye newe, yet throughly & as it were from point by point, set foorth hitherto by no man, that I knowe, if out of the workes of good Authours I haue fitted to my purpose suche thinges as seeme to serue the turne. It is no hanging matter, to take from others that whiche a man may profitably vse without wronging

Terence.

Virgill.

any body. It is the part of Æsop his Crowe vnbesittingly to garnishe her selfe with the fethers of other byrdes not agreeing vnto her, and vainely to boast of the same: and it is the point of a wise man, from euery where to take, & rightly to apply to his matter, such things as are fit and profitable for the thing in hand. For it is a great prayse diligently to search the writings of our Elders: but a greater, faithfully to keepe the things found out: for they haue by their vertues opened the way of labour, and by theyr wisedome left vnto vs the path of vnderstanding.

Æsops crow.

Now if many of the things which I here require shall seeme hard to be compassed, because that some lacke wealth, some opportunitie, some wisdome: yet is it not to bee disalowed, ỳ the best rule be set down, according vnto the which, euery man so farr as he may, may order his matters. For ỳ example and pattern, according vnto ỳ which a thing ought to bee done, ought in euery point to bee most perfect, that the following of the same may be most commodious. For whereas in a manner nothing by following may bee so set out as that it bee made like to the first patterne, nay that it will not many wayes be thereunto inferiour, this shalbe a great

The most perfect way is in euery thing to be set downe, though it cannot be by others attained vnto.

great prayse vnto the follower, ỳ in the next degree he come neere vnto that whiche hee hath purposed to follow. The Poet saith: Looke what wee can attaine vnto, some praise it is, though that we can performe no more: And of the wise men in the gospell it is saide in a common verse: They went so farre as they could goe, where that they coulde no further passe, there stoode they still. I know it to be more easie to giue counsaile then to follow ỳ same: yet notwithstanding the best counsaile is to be giuen. For if some thing bee wanting in the setting downe how a thing should bee done, no doubt some thing will bee wanting in the action it selfe, that must according to that rule be performed. There was neuer such an Oratour as Cicero and Quintilian do describe vnto vs: Nor such a Phisition, as Galen requireth: nor such a cõmon wealth as Plato shapeth, nor such a Preacher, as Erasmus painteth out: Nor finally such a Church as Christ desireth. These, I say, albeit at no time they haue beene founde so perfect, as of thẽ they are perfectly portraitured, yet they thought good to set a moste perfect patterne of them all before our eies, by the viewe whereof all our thoughts and

actions

actions should be gouerned. Which things such they are so, who can iustly finde faulte with mee, for that I require some thinges more exactly peraduenture then some common wealthes by following can bee able to performe: Wherefore those whiche can pleade no other let but want of abilitie, wyll at leastwise take in good part that good and holsome counsaile, which commeth from a good heart: And concerning the rest, muste pray earnestly with me vnto God the father, and Iesus Christe his sonne, the true turner away, and driuer backe of all euill, ỹ he will maintaine sound in vs the gift of life, ẅ hee hath bestowed vpõ vs, & preserue or deliuer vs frõ this infectiõ of the plague, vnto the glory of his name, the amendement of our liues, and healthy of our soules: calling vpon him after this maner.

A Prayer.

O God in all aduersitie
the onelie hope and stay,
Th'assured helpe and certayne ayde
of life of mine alway:
Vnmindfull of deserued ire,
O Father helpe at neede,

Spare

Spare and beholde of people thine
the teares which they doe ſheede.
Regarde vs for thy Chriſtes ſake,
with humble voyce wee craue:
And deale not with vs giltie ſoules,
as wee deſerue to haue.
Howe ſometime Dauid for his ſinne
committed, greeuous paine
Did ſuffer, holy ſcripture doth
report vnto vs plaine.
When ſeuen thouſande ten times tolde
(a miſerable ſight)
With rage of plagne in three daies ſpace
did loeſe this ioyfull light.
But when with teares hee did againe
his ſinne confeſſe and wayle,
Of frindly pardon at thy handes
foorthwith hee did not faile.
His wickedneſſe, and alſo guilt
of wickedneſſe committed,
Which vſeth to prouoke thy wrath,
was by and by remitted.
Wee alſo now haue made the like,
or greater farre offence,
To which of paine is likewiſe due
as iuſt a recompence.
But yet O God & father deere
with humble ſuite wee pray,

That vs moſt wretched wights,
in wrath ſo great thou wilt not pay.
Haue pitie Lorde on vs,
on vs that humblie ſue to thee:
And ſuffer not our prayers made,
in vaine or voide to bee.
Vnmindful of deſerued yre,
O father helpe at need,
Spare, and behold of people thine
the teares which they doe ſheede.
Beholde I pray for Chirſte his ſake,
in name of whom who vſe
All prayers vnto thee to make,
thou canneſt not refuſe.
To whom, as coeternall God
with thee, like laud and prayſe,
Like honour, equall glory, and
renowme is due alwayes.

Amen.

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